

Nicholas de Saint Real (G.)

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
CONSPIRACY
OF THE
SPANIARDS

Against the
REPUBLIC OF VENICE.

In the Year MDCXVIII.

Translated from the French

OF THE
ABBOT de St. REAL.

GLASGOW:

Printed for ROBERT URIE. MDCCLXVII.

71

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
CONSPIRACY

OF THE
SPANIARDS
IN THE
REPUBLIC OF VENICE



Translated from the French

OF THE
ABDOLAH GAREAL

C. L. A. S. O. W.

Printed at the University Press, Cambridge

Testimonies of VOLTAIRE concerning the Abbot de St. REAL's History.

—The Author of our Tragedy of Manlius took his subject from Otway's Venice Preserv'd; and each, from the History of the Conspiracy of the Marquis of Bedmar, wrote by the Abbot de St. REAL; and give me leave to add, that this piece of History, equal, perhaps, to Sallust, is much superior either to your Otway, or our Manlius.

Voltaire's Essay on Tragedy. Addressed to Lord Bol-
lingbroke.

The Abbot de St. REAL was born at Chamberry, but educated in France. His History of the Conspiracy of the Spaniards against Venice, is a Master-piece.

Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIV.

7/6

F

C

R

A

th
pr
ar
ar
lit
fi

7/6

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
CONSPIRACY
OF THE
SPANIARDS
AGAINST THE
REPUBLIC OF VENICE.

The INTRODUCTION.

AMONG all human undertakings none is so great as that of conspiracies. Courage, prudence, and fidelity, which are equally required in all who are concerned in them, are qualities possessed by few; and it is still more rare, to find them all

A

4 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

united in the same person. As a man often flatters himself that he is loved better than he really is, especially if he deserves it, and has taken pains to make himself so, some heads of a conspiracy rely intirely on the affection their accomplices have for them; but there are few friendships which are stronger than the fear of death. If this affection is violent, it prevents the judgment on unexpected occasions, and is not attended with a necessary discretion; for most people who wish for a thing vehemently, shew it too plainly. And if a conspirator has so much understanding that there is no fear of his indiscretion, he is

△

always more dispassionate and cool in affection: he knows too well the extent and probability of the danger to which he is exposed, and the various measures he can take to disengage himself; he sees, in a word, that the advantages he can reap from such an enterprize are doubtful, and that if he discovers it to them against whom it is formed, his reward is certain. The capacity also of most men is only founded on their experience, and they seldom reason right in the first affair which passes thro' their hands. The wisest are they who improve by the faults they commit, and who gain light and draw proper conse-

6 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

quences to govern themselves better for the time to come. But as there is no comparifon either for the danger or the difficulty, between a conspiracy and any other affair; whatever experience a man may have in all other matters, it can fupply him with no light in this, nor any affured consequences for his good conduct. In order to avoid committing a confiderable fault in a conspiracy, it is neceffary that a man fhould have been in one already, but it is very rarely that any one person is engaged in two while he lives. If the first fucceeds, the advantages he receives by it generally put him in a condition above having oc-

against the Republic of Venice. 7

caſion to hazard himſelf in a ſecond: if it does not ſucceed, he periſhes; or if he makes his eſcape, it ſeldom happens that he is willing to run the ſame riſque again. To theſe inconveniencies muſt be added, that let our hatred be ever ſo great againſt tyrants, a man always loves himſelf more than he hates another; that it is not enough that conſpirators are faithful, unleſs they are mutually perſuaded of each other's fidelity; that the head of the conſpiracy ought to have a regard to all the paſſions, fears, and the moſt ridiculous imaginations which may ſeize them, as well as to the moſt ſolid difficulties which occur in

8 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

his enterprize ; because the first, as well as the last, are capable of ruining it ; that a word spoken on another subject, and a gesture without design, are able to make them believe they are betrayed, and so precipitate the execution ; that a single circumstance of time or place, which in truth is of no importance, is sufficient sometimes to frighten them, merely because it was not foreseen ; that according to the natural temper of men, they always fancy their secret is guessed, and find reasons to believe they are discovered, in all that is said or done before them ; and he, who knows he is guilty, applies every thing to himself.

against the Republic of Venice. 9

That if all these difficulties are almost insuperable in conspiracies which are framed only for the death of a single person, what will they be in those which attack a great number at once, which aim at the usurpation of a town, or a whole state, and which for that reason require a larger space of time, and more hands to execute them? These considerations have always made me look upon this kind of enterprises, as the most moral and most instructive parts of history; and have also induced me to communicate to the public, the conspiracy which an ambassador of Spain at Venice had contrived against that Republic

10 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

about sixty five years ago. I know not whether my judgment is deceived by the fondness I have for the subject I have undertaken, but I ingenuously confess, I think, never was better seen the force of prudence in the affairs of the world, and the power of chance; the extent and the bounds of the mind of man, its greatest elevation, and its most secret weaknesses; the infinite particulars which must be regarded to govern; the difference between the good subtilty, and the bad, and between ability and cunning; and if malice is never more odious, than when it makes an abuse of the most excellent things, the read-

against the Republic of Venice. II

er will undoubtedly conceive a horror at it from this history, when he shall see the noblest qualifications employed to so abominable an end: thus one of the Grecian sages, seeing a criminal maintain a falsehood in the midst of torments with a wonderful constancy, could not forbear crying out, 'Thou wretch, who employest so good a thing to so bad a use!'

THE difference between Paul the Vth and the Republic of Venice having been terminated by the mediation of France, with the honour due to the Holy See, and the glory which the Venetians deserved, there were only the

12 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

Spaniards who had any reason to complain of it. As they had declared in favour of the Pope, and had offered him to compel the Venetians to submit by force of arms, they were enraged that he had treated without their participation. But having penetrated into the secret of the agreement, they found they had no cause to be offended with the Pope, and that the contempt which was put upon them in this affair proceeded from the Republic. It was the senate which had in some measure excluded them from the mediation, upon pretence that after having shewn so much partiality, they could not

be admitted as arbitrators. How great soever their resentment was for this injury, they did not express it while Henry the 4th was living, whose obligations to the Venetians were too well known, and the care he had taken of their interest in this dispute with the court of Rome. But his death having set the Spaniards at liberty, they wanted now nothing but a fair handle to put things in motion.

A company of pirates, called the Uscoques, had settled in the territories which the house of Austria possesses on the Adriatic Sea, and which are contiguous to the Venetians. These rob-

14 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*
bers, having committed infinite depredations on the subjects of the Republic, were protected by the Arch-Duke Ferdinand de Gretch, then sovereign of that country, and afterwards Emperor. He was a very religious Prince; but his ministers sharing the booty with the Uscques, and being devoted to the court of Spain, embraced this opportunity to be revenged on the Venetians. The Emperor Mathias, moved with the just complaints of the Republic, made up this difference at Vienna in February 1612; but this accommodation was so ill observed on the part of the Arch-Duke, that there was a necessi-

ty of coming to an open war, in which he did not gain all the advantages which the Spaniards expected. The Venetians by their wise conduct easily repaired the losses they had sustained in some slight engagements; and as they had nothing to fear from the Turks, they were better able to support this war than the Arch-Duke. This Prince was pressed by the Emperor to make a peace, because the Grand Seignior threatened Hungary, and he had occasion to lay up considerable sums to facilitate his election to the kingdom of Bohemia, which was executed soon after. The Spaniards were willing to supply him with

16 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

means to continue the war; but Charles Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, with whom they were embroiled at the same time, did not suffer them to divide their forces; and as that Duke received large succours in money from the Republic, they could never disunite him from it.

The council of Spain was mightily incensed to find they had to do with the Venetians every where. The easy and peaceable genius of King Philip the 3d, and of the Duke of Lerma his favourite, gave them no prospect of extricating themselves out of this embarrassment; but a minister they had in Italy, who

was not so cool and moderate, undertook to extricate them. It was Don Alphonso de la Cueva, marquis of Bedmar, ambassador in ordinary at Venice, one of the strongest geniuses and most dangerous spirits that Spain ever produced. It appears by the writings he left, that he was master of every thing in the antient and modern historians, which could form an extraordinary man: he compared the things they related with those which were in agitation in his own time; and exactly marked the differences and resemblances of affairs, and what an alteration the circumstances in which they agreed, produced in those

18 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

in which they differed. He usually formed a judgment of the issue of an enterprize, as soon as he knew the plan and the foundation of it. If he found by the event that he had mistaken, he traced back his error to its source, and endeavoured to discover what had deceived him. By this application and study he had comprehended which are the sure ways, the true means, and the chief circumstances which presage success in great designs, and make them always answer expectation. This continual practice of reading, meditating and observing the affairs of the world, had raised him to so high a pitch of saga-

city, that his conjectures on the future generally passed in the council of Spain for prophecies. This profound knowlege of the nature of important affairs was accompanied with very singular talents for the management of them; as a facility of speaking and writing inexpressibly agreeable; a wonderful instinct to know men; an air always gay and open, which had more fire than gravity, and was so remote from dissimulation as to come up almost to simplicity and nature; a humour free and complaisant, and by so much the more impenetrable, as every body thought they penetrated into it. His deportment was

20 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

tender, insinuating and flattering, which wormed out the secrets of the hearts which were hardest to open; and there were all the appearances of an entire freedom of mind, in the midst of the most anxious agitations.

The ambassadors of Spain at that time generally commanded the courts to which they were sent; and the marquis de Bedmar had been chosen for Venice, in the year 1607, as the most difficult of the foreign employments, and in which no assistance is to be had from women, fryars, or favourites. The council of Spain was so satisfied with him, that whatever occasion

there was for him in other places, they could not resolve even after six years residence to recall him. This long continuance there gave him time to study the principles of that government, to find out its secret springs, and to discover its strength and its weakness, its advantages, and defects. As he saw that the Arch-Duke would be obliged to make peace, which must needs be shameful to Spain, because the wrong lay at their door, he resolved to undertake something in order to prevent it. He considered that in the condition Venice was then in, it was not impossible to become master of it, by the help of the intelligences

22 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

he had there, and of the forces which he could procure. Their troops had drained it of arms, and still more of men capable of bearing them. As the fleet had never made so fine an appearance, the senate never thought itself so formidable, nor was ever less apprehensive. However, this invincible fleet could not venture to quit the coast of Istria, which was the seat of the war; and the land-army was at as great a distance, and there was nothing at Venice to oppose a descent from the Spanish fleet.

To render this descent the more certain, the marquis de Bedmar was for possessing him-

fel
pla
nal
ficu
wa
he
the
of t
the
gre
He
to S
prin
ther
nat
van
war
tion
bati
only

self of the principal posts, as the place of St. Mark, and the Arsenal : and because it would be difficult to do this while the town was in a perfect tranquillity, he thought it proper to set fire at the same time to all those places of the town, which would catch the quickest, and were of the greatest importance to succour. He would not immediately write to Spain about it, as knowing princes do not care to explain themselves on affairs of such a nature, till they are so far advanced, that there is nothing wanting to put them in execution, but an assurance of approbation in case they succeed. He only signified to the Duke of

24 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

Uffeda, principal secretary of state, that seeing the shame the house of Austria received from the war in the Friouli by the insolent conduct of the Venetians, and that all the ways of accommodation which he had taken at Vienna and elsewhere were ignominious; he looked upon himself to be in that condition, in which nature and policy oblige a faithful subject to have recourse to extraordinary means, to preserve his prince and country from an infamy which is otherwise inevitable; that this care belonged to him in particular, by reason of the employment he sustained; in which having constantly before his eyes the

springs of the evil which was to be redressed, no body could judge better than himself, what remedy ought to be applied; and that he would endeavour to acquit himself of that duty, in a manner as should be worthy of the zeal he had for the grandeur of his master.

The Duke of Uffeda, who knew him perfectly, immediately imagined this concealed some project equally important and dangerous; but as prudent men do not appear to understand things of this kind, till they are constrained to it, he did not communicate his suspicion to the first minister, and answered

26 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

the marquis de Bedmar in general terms, commending his zeal, and referring the rest to his usual discretion. The marquis, who expected no other return, was not surprized at so cool a reply, and thought now of nothing but to contrive his design, so as to be sure of being avowed.

There never was a monarchy in the world so absolute, as is the authority with which the senate of Venice governs that Republic. They make an infinite difference even in the minutest things between the nobles and those who are not such: in all the countrys which depend

on the state, the nobles alone are capable of commanding; the greatest lords, and the prime magistrates of those countries are under subjection to them, rather as to sovereigns than governors; and if the Republic ever gives some of the first posts in its armies to strangers, it is always on such conditions as oblige them to follow the opinion of the Venetian generalissimo, and in reality leave them only an executive power. As there is not a more plausible pretence to burden the people than that of war, that of the Uscoques afforded a fine opportunity to the nobles, who had the management of it, to enrich

28 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

themselves. It was excessively expensive. Besides the money which was sent to Piedmont, there was a necessity at last to raise in a manner a third army in Lombardy against the governor of Milan, who was perpetually threatening to make a diversion in favour of the Arch-Duke. The justice and the right of the Republic made the commanders more bold to invent new oppressions, but did not however render the people more patient to bear them; and they rose so high, that the marquis de Bedmar might reasonably assure himself that the revolution he projected would be as agreeable to the meaner sort of peo-

aga
ple,
nobl
the
love
were
of R
in nu
and
cens
been
cour
they
were
any
out
held
plea
the
duct
prov

ple, as it would be fatal to the nobles. There were also among the nobles some who did not love the government. These were the Partisans of the court of Rome: they who were most in number, and were ambitious, and full of revenge, were incensed, that the Republic had been governed contrary to their counsels, during the quarrel they had with that court: they were disposed to act and suffer any thing, to wrest the power out of the hands of those who held it; and would have been pleased with the misfortunes of the state, as the effects of a conduct which they had not approved. Others, who were more

weak and shallow, were for being more catholic than the Pope himself. As he had abated of his pretensions in the accommodation, they imagined he had been obliged to it out of policy, and that if a mental reservation could take place in that affair, it was to be feared the excommunication subsisted as before, in his Holiness's intention. Of this number were several senators, as poor in their fortunes, as in their minds, who became very serviceable to the designs of the marquis de Bedmar, after he had persuaded them, by the powerful conviction of doing them kindnesses, that since that affair had happened, it was im-

possible to be a Venetian with a safe conscience.

Notwithstanding the severe prohibitions which are made to the nobles to have no correspondence with strangers, he had found the means to establish a strict intelligence with those of them who were the most necessitous, and the most dissatisfied. If they had any near relations in the monasteries, a mistress, or trusty ecclesiastic, he purchased the acquaintance of these necessary people at any price, and made them presents, which were of great value, tho' generally they were only curiosities of foreign countries. These libera-

32 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

lities, which were dispensed, as it seemed, out of mere generosity, made those who received them imagine they might draw more considerable ones from the marquis. In view of this they fully satisfied his curiosity concerning all those things he had a mind to be informed of by them, and even took care to apprise themselves of such as they were not sufficiently acquainted with, to answer his questions; and his acknowledgements exceeding their expectation, they had no rest till they had engaged their patrons in this commerce.

These persons it is likely

might be pushed on by necessity, and that the nobles, to whom they belonged, could not behold without envy, that they, who intirely depended on them, should become richer than themselves, by presents which were made them only on their account: but be it as it will, from that time, there was not any deliberation in the senate which could be kept secret from the ambassador of Spain: he was advertised of all the resolutions which were taken there; and the generals of the Arch-Duke knew those which related to the war, before the officers of the Republic had orders to execute them. With all this intelligence the ambaf-

34 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

fador had occasion for a considerable number of military men to succeed in this enterprize; but as the Spaniards had a powerful army in Lombardy, he was in no fear of this, provided he had a governor of Milan capable of entering into his designs. The marquis of Inojosa, who was then governor, was too closely united to the Duke of Savoy to hearken to them. He had lately signed the treaty of Ast, of which France and the Venetians had been the mediators. The ambassador, who knew this negotiation would not be approved in Spain, writ thither to have him recalled, and solicited Don Pedro de Toledo,

marquis of Villa Franca, his intimate friend, to make interest for the government of Milan. Don Pedro had orders to depart immediately, and succeed Inojosa, about the latter end of the year 1615, and as soon as he arrived at Milan, gave advice of it at Venice by the marquis de Lare. The ambassador communicated his project to this marquis after the manner he judged most proper to make it be accepted, and chiefly recommended to him to know whether the new governor could let him have fifteen hundred men of his best troops upon occasion. Don Pedro, charmed with the greatness of the undertaking, resolved to

36 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

second it as much as lay in his power, without exposing himself to certain ruin in case it miscarried. He dispatched the marquis de Lare a second time to Venice, to assure the ambassador of it: but prayed him at the same time to consider it was impossible to send the body of men he desired, without chusing them out very curiously; and that if they were lost, he should be inexcusable for having sacrificed the bravest soldiers in his army. That he would, however, give him as many as he could, and would chuse them so well, that he would answer for them as for himself.

Nothing was of greater moment to the ambassador's purpose than to hinder an accommodation of any kind. In this view he obliged the marquis de Lare to make very unreasonable proposals of peace to the senate from the governor of Milan. The senate answered them with indignation, and would not treat upon them. Don Pedro omitted nothing likewise on his part, to exasperate things still more. The duke of Mantua, who was very little disposed to grant a pardon to his rebellious subjects, as he had promised by the treaty of Ast, was encouraged to be obstinate on that article, and to continue the executions which he

38 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

had begun against them. Proposals were also made to the Duke of Savoy for the conclusion of the same treaty, which they knew very well he would not accept; and they excused themselves for not disarming their troops after him, as they ought to have done, under the pretence of the war in Friouli, in which the Spaniards could no longer with honour avoid being concerned. The Venetian army had already passed the Lizonzo, and besieged Gradisca, the capital of the estates of the Arch-Duke. The council of Spain, which had appeared neuter till then, seeing the Venetians were for dispossessing that Prince in-

ag
tirel
self.
put
whi
Aust
Spai
since
son
the
the
niar
first
Don
ballo
with
twen
be n
he g
to a
thou

tirely, threatened to declare it self. At this time an end was put to the misunderstanding which had been in the house of Austria, between the branch of Spain and that of Germany, since the difference betwixt the son and the brother of Charles the 5th about the succession of the empire: the interest the Spaniards took in this war, was the first token of this reconciliation. Don Pedro caused colonel Gambalotta to advance near Crema with some troops, and ordered twenty four pieces of battery to be mounted at Pavia, which, as he gave out, were in a little time to accompany a body of eight thousand men commanded by

Dōn Sancho de Luna. On the other part, the Vice-Roy of Naples, who was cruising on the Mediterranean with the Spanish fleet, threatened to attack the Duke of Savoy at Villa Franca. He shut up the passage to all the succours which were coming by sea to the Republic, and was every day preparing to enter the Gulph, in order to keep the Venetian fleet in awe.

The Venetian ministers having loudly declaimed in all the courts against the violence of this procedure, the marquis de Bedmar undertook to justify it: he thought it would be of service to his design to overthrow

the foundation of the high esteem all Europe for so many ages entertained for this Republic, as the most free. This freedom had lately been proved, and carried higher than ever, on occasion of the difference with the Pope, by several writings which had hitherto passed for invincible, tho' the contrary party had not wanted able pens to answer them. The ambassador, having examined them afresh, refuted in a few chapters the numerous volumes of the Venetian authors, without doing any one of them the honour to name him. And as in matters of this nature there is no assertion which a learned man may

42 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

not render plausible; under pretence of maintaining the Emperor's right over Venice, he shewed that the independence of this Republic was only a chime-
ra, as well as its sovereignty on the sea. As it was not necessary for his purpose to be known for the author of this libel, he caused it to be published so artfully, that it was never discovered during his life that he had any hand in it: it seems strange that he was not suspected of it; but the Venetians, it is likely, did not fathom him. His lively and vehement behaviour, which he always preserved, did not permit them to think that a man of so impetuous a charac-

ter could be the author of a state-satire, which was composed with most refined delicacy. Equity and sincerity seemed to reign thro' the whole, and the declamations against the attempts of the Venetians which were mingled in it, were restrained within the terms of a seeming moderation, which alone was sufficient to render them plausible. This work, which had for title * *Squittinio della Liberta Veneta*, made a great noise. In the ignorance they were under of the author, the suspicion fell naturally on the court of Rome, by reason of the

* An enquiry into the liberty of Venice

42 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

not render plausible; under pretence of maintaining the Emperor's right over Venice, he shewed that the independence of this Republic was only a chime-
ra, as well as its sovereignty on the sea. As it was not necessary for his purpose to be known for the author of this libel, he caused it to be published so artfully, that it was never discovered during his life that he had any hand in it: it seems strange that he was not suspected of it; but the Venetians, it is likely, did not fathom him. His lively and vehement behaviour, which he always preserved, did not permit them to think that a man of so impetuous a charac-

ter could be the author of a state-satire, which was composed with most refined delicacy. Equity and sincerity seemed to reign thro' the whole, and the declamations against the attempts of the Venetians which were mingled in it, were restrained within the terms of a seeming moderation, which alone was sufficient to render them plausible. This work, which had for title * *Squittinio della Liberta Veneta*, made a great noise. In the ignorance they were under of the author, the suspicion fell naturally on the court of Rome, by reason of the

* An enquiry into the liberty of Venice

44 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

former writings. The learned among the senate believed every body perceived the strength of it as well as they: they were more frightened at it than they would have been at the loss of a battle; and father Paul had orders to examine it. This man, who had played with the other writers of that side, declared this last ought not to be answered, because there was no doing it without unfolding certain things which it was more prudent to leave involved in the darkness of antiquity: but, however, if the senate judged it concerned the dignity of the Republic to resent this injury, he would undertake to put the court of Rome

to so great a difficulty to defend it self, that it should no longer think of being the aggressor. This advice, which was followed in the first heat of their resentment, gave father Paul the pleasure of publishing his beloved history of the council of Trent, which would not have been published while he lived, had it not been for this opportunity.

In the mean time, the campaign of the year 1616, having passed without any considerable advantage on either side, the Duke of Savoy, and the Venetians, who were unwilling to expose the honour they had al-

46 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

ready gained to the hazard of a second, impowered Gritti, the Venetian ambassador at Madrid, to renew the negotiation. The Spaniards, being enraged at the resistance they had found, made such unreasonable proposals, that they came to nothing. The blockade of Gradisca continued, and they fought during the winter-season; and the armies took the field in the spring, with an ardor which promised greater successes than those of the preceding year. The truce which Holland had made having rendered the major part of their troops unnecessary, and reduced the soldiers of fortune, as well French as Germans, to seek for

employment elsewhere; the Counts of Nassau and Lievestein brought eight thousand men, Hollanders or Walloons, to the service of the Republic. The Spaniards complained loudly to the Pope, about the Venetians exposing Italy to the infection of heresy, by introducing into it these soldiers: but the Venetian ambassador convinced him, it was not so much the interest of religion which moved the Spaniards to speak thus, as the grief they had to see two great Republics unite their forces against them. The marquis de Bedmar would have been embarrassed, if the Pope had obliged the Venetians to dismiss those heretics.

48 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

For as soldiers have generally their own advantage alone in view, when they serve a foreign Prince, he hoped to engage the leaders of those mercenary troops in his project by means of money, and the expectation of the plunder of Venice. He cast his eye, for the negotiation of this affair, on an old French gentleman, named Nicholas Renault, a man of knowlege and good sense, who had taken refuge at Venice on some occasion which was never discovered. The marquis had seen him long since at the French ambassador's, where he lived. In some conversations which they happened to have together, Re-

nault found the marquis to be a man of as great ability as he was reported; and the marquis, who was glad to have a friend of his character at the ambassador's of France, had contracted a strict union with Renault. Tho' this man was extremely poor, he had a higher value for virtue than for riches; but was fonder of glory than of virtue; and for want of innocent means to obtain this glory, there were none so criminal which he was not capable of embracing. He had learned in the writings of the ancients that unusual indifference for life or death, which is the first foundation of all extraordinary designs; and was

50 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

continually envying those celebrated times in which the merit of private persons disposed the destiny of states, and all who had merit wanted not the means nor opportunities to make it appear. The marquis de Bedmar, who studied him thoroughly, and who had occasion for a man to whom he could intirely trust the management of his enterprize, told him, when he imparted it to him, that he had depended on him from the very first moment he thought of it.

Renault esteemed himself more obliged by this assurance, than he would have been by all the commendations imaginable,

The advanced age in which he was, did not make him decline the undertaking. The less time he had to live, the less he had to risque: he concluded he could not better employ the melancholy years he had yet remaining, than in hazarding them to render his name immortal. The marquis gave him the bills of exchange, and letters of credit, which were necessary to enable him to treat with the Dutch commanders; and charged him not to unfold the design, but only to represent, that matters being so exasperated as they were between the Republic and the house of Austria, the Spanish ambassador at Venice fore-

saw a certain conjuncture, which might expose his person to the fury of the people of that city, and desired for his own safety to secure himself a considerable number of faithful and resolute friends. The pretence was frivolous, but the thinnest vail is of great moment in affairs of this kind: it matters not much that it be known there is some mystery at bottom, provided it be not unraveled. By this he hoped to debauch the flower of the land-army of the Venetians; and that the rest would be left so weak, that it would be easy for Don Pedro to defeat them on the way, if they were sent for to Venice to oppose the conspira-

aga
tors.
more
been
and
easily
natu
and
but
the
mak
the S
was
thin
to tr
the
whi
enor
for
put
capa

tors. The sea-forces were far more to be dreaded. They had been always enured to conquer, and could be called home more easily. Most of the men were natural subjects of the Republic; and there was no room to doubt, but at the first breaking out of the conspiracy, the navy would make to Venice. To hope that the Spanish fleet should defeat it, was what was a very uncertain thing; and it was not prudent to trust to the hazard of a battle, the success of an enterprize which was otherwise hazardous enough; it was necessary therefore to find out some means to put the fleet into a condition incapable of serving. The am-

bassador, who had not so much experience in maritime affairs as the Vice-Roy of Naples, who commanded the sea-forces of Spain, thought himself obliged to consult him on the subject. This Vice-Roy, who was to be the principal actor of the tragedy which the ambassador was composing, was the Duke of Ossuna, so famous for his gallantries, who was as bold and enterprising as Don Pedro, and the marquis de Bedmar. This resemblance of tempers had established a strict correspondence between these three ministers. Don Pedro and the Duke of Ossuna were not great in the cabinet, and the Duke was even some-

ag

time
bord
but
to th
them
they

T
pira
und
on,
the
not
terr
had
nary
proc
not
the
boo

times subject to caprices, which bordered upon extravagance ; but the deference they both paid to the marquis de Bedmar stood them instead of the ability which they wanted.

The profits which arise from piracy to those who practise it under some powerful protection, had drawn to the court of the Vice-Roy of Naples all the notorious pirates on the Mediterranean. The Vice-Roy, who had a fertile brain for extraordinary designs, and was rather prodigal than avaritious, did not support them so much for the share they gave him of their booty, as to have always near

56 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

him a considerable number of people ready to attempt any thing. He was not contented to receive them when they applied to him; but if he heard of any one of uncommon merit among them, he sought after him, and did him so many kindnesses, that he infallibly made him his own. He had acted thus toward one who was known by the name of captain James Peter, a Norman by birth, and so excellent in his trade, that all the rest gloried to have learned it from him. The mind of this man had nothing in it of the barbarity of that sort of life; but having got where-with to live handsomely, he resolved to leave

it off, tho' he was then in the flower of his age, and chose the dominions of the Duke of Savoy for his retreat. This Prince, who was fond of all extraordinary talents, and who understood their value so much the better, as nature had given him a liberal portion of them, knowing this pirate by reputation to be one of the bravest men in the world, allowed him to settle at Nice. All maritime people who frequented that coast, soldiers, officers, or sailors, duly made their court to the captain: his counsels were oracles to them: he was sovereign arbitrator of their differences; and they thought they could never suffi-

58 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

ciently admire a man who had quitted a profession in which he was so well skilled, and which was the hardest of any to lay down. Of this number was one Vincent Robert of Marseilles; who having landed in Sicily, while the Duke of Offuna was Vice-Roy there, received so good usage, that he engaged in his service. The Duke, understanding this Robert was a comrade of the captain, complained in a familiar manner to him, of his friend's having preferred the states of the Duke of Savoy to his government, for his retreat. He joined to these complaints extraordinary tokens of the esteem he had for the captain's

courage and experience in sea-affairs, and concluded with assurances to be wanting in nothing that depended on him, to invite to his court a man of so singular a merit. Robert took upon him this negotiation with joy, and it was supported by such great advances on the part of the Vice-Roy, that the captain was forced to yield, and to go and settle in Sicily with his wife and children. As he had not yet lost sight of the sea, he was not quite cured of the passion he had had for it. The Vice-Roy had lately built such fine galleons, and some Turkish Caravans were on the road with such weak convoys, that the captain

60 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

could not resist this temptation; and he had no reason to repent it; for he got an incredible booty; and the Duke of Offuna, who, from that moment, lived with him as with a brother, let him keep the greatest part of it, on condition he should follow him to Naples, of which he was appointed governor by the King; and that he should make a voyage to Provence, and try to inveigle those he knew to be the best sea-men on that coast.

The captain brought away enough to arm five large vessels which belonged to the Vice-Roy in particular, and over which he had an absolute authority. With

this small fleet he plundered with impunity all the islands and coasts of the Levant, and concluded his first campaign with a great fight, in which he either took or sunk a numerous squadron of Turkish gallies. It was at this time that the marquis de Bedmar communicated his design to the Duke of Ossuna, being assured he should not have much difficulty to engage him in it.

W

The Duke, who coveted^W the sovereignty of those seas, wished for nothing more ardently than to ruin the Venetians, who alone could dispute it with him, and who were not so easy to be

beaten as the Turks. He opened his mind to the captain, and proposed to him the difficulties which occurred: the captain did not think them insurmountable; and after several days of private conference, he left Naples on the sudden, and in an attire which denoted the utmost precipitation and fright. The Vice-Roy sent people after him, every way but that which he had taken, with orders to seize him dead or alive: his wife and children were imprisoned, and kept from that day in a condition in appearance very miserable: all his goods were confiscated, and the Duke's anger broke out with so much fury,

that all Naples was surprized at it, though his passionate temper had been known for a long time. As the captain did not seem less active than the Vice-Roy, their misunderstanding was easily credited; and it was believed he had been forming something against Spain, or against the Duke's interest, and his particular designs. In the mean time he had recourse to his first Asylum. The Duke of Savoy was at open war with the Spaniards, and was known to be the most generous Prince in the world. Though he had expressed some disgust when the captain had left his territories to remove to Sicily, yet the im-

64 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

postor did not boggle to go and fling himself at his feet; he told him of several sham designs of the Vice-Roy against the Republic of Venice, which were horrible even to think of, but had nothing in common with the true one; and that believing he could not engage in it with honour, he was contriving how to make his escape from Naples with his goods and family: but hearing the Vice-Roy had discovered his resolution, he had been obliged to fly in that wretched habit, to save himself from his rage, and to abandon all he had most dear in the world, to the discretion of the most cruel of men.

against the Republic of Venice. 65

The Duke of Savoy was touched with pity at this sad relation, and received him with open arms. He told the pirate that his interest being inseparably linked to those of the Republic, he took upon himself to reward him for the service he should do to the common cause, in case the Venetians did not recompence him; adding, that it was of the last importance, that the senate should be acquainted from his own mouth of the designs of the Duke of Ossuna; and after having exhorted him to bear his misfortunes like a man of courage, and equipped him with all things, and given him a noble present, he made

66 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

him set out for Venice with letters of credence and recommendation. The Venetians were not less compassionate than the Duke of Savoy. The flight, the tears, the poverty, the despair, the capacity, the achievements, the reputation of the captain, the hopes that he would bring over to their service the great number of stout able men which he had drawn into the service of the Duke of Ossuna; but above all the report he made of the Duke's designs, which he had contrived to render as probable as was necessary; all these things spoke so powerfully in his favour, that they immediately gave him the command of a ship. This

did not hinder Contarini, the Republic's ambassador at Rome, from remonstrating by letters, that this man, coming from the Vice Roy, ought always to be distrusted: but fear, which had produced in the minds of the Venetians that credulity, which always attends it, got the better of this prudent advice.

Not long after, the fleet putting to sea, the captain, who knew of what consequence it was, that he should signalize himself; made such considerable prizes on the Uscoques, in some commissions he had procured to be given him to pursue them, that upon his return from this

68 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards.*

chase eleven ships more were added to his command. He gave an account of his successes to the Duke of Ossuna, and concluded his letter with these words: ' If these Scaramouches ' are always as easy of belief as ' they have been hitherto, I ' dare assure your Excellency, I ' shall not lose my time in this ' country.' He wrote at the same time to all his comrades whom he had left at Naples, to invite them into the service of the Republic. It was no difficult matter for him to seduce them: for upon his escape, the Vice-Roy pretending to suspect them, treated them as ill, as he had used them well before: he com-

ag
plain
tion
to th
him
who
drive
der l
repe
took
com
and
ly u
lated
mad
ligh
stina
ceive
wha
lish
the

plained violently of the protection the Republic had granted to the captain; and to revenge himself, supported the Uscoques, whom the Venetian arms had driven from their Asylum: under his protection they began to repeat their depredations: they took a large vessel which was coming from Corfou to Venice, and sold the booty of it publicly under his standard: he violated the freedom of the ports; made considerable reprisals, for light grievances; remained obstinate against the orders he received from Spain, to release what he had seized; and published a manifesto, to set forth the reasons of his disobeying

them: he sent a great fleet to cruise in the Adriatic sea; and caused the prizes it took from the Venetians to be brought into Naples in triumph; in a word, he ruined their commerce at the expence even of the Neapolitans, who were concerned in it; and the farmers of the revenues of the kingdom offering to complain, he threatened to hang them.

As there had been no war declared between Spain and the Republic, the Venetians could not recover themselves from the astonishment, into which so irregular a conduct had cast them: it was generally imputed

aga

to the
of Of
unde
madr
servic
empl
ards
the D
whic
nor m
cour
prisin
ing t
derin
ing
Veni
plan
cause
of th
briga

to the extravagance of the Duke of Ossuna: but those of the best understanding, who knew that madmen of this kind are very serviceable, when judiciously employed, believed the Spaniards made use of the caprices of the Duke, to act all those things which he would neither own, nor maintain. His familiar discourses run wholly upon surprising the ports of Istria belonging to the Republic, upon plundering their islands, and making a descent if possible upon Venice itself. He studied the plan of it with his courtiers: he caused exact maps to be drawn of the adjacent parts; and barks, brigantines, and other small

72 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

vessels to be built proper for all sorts of channels; trials to be made of the weight the several depths of water were capable of bearing, and was inventing every day new machines, to lessen the weight of vessels, and facilitate the motion.

The Venetian resident at Naples gave an exact intelligence of this, to the mortification of the marquis of Bedmar, who began to repent of being concerned with so rash a person. But the success deceived his fears: for the Vice-Roy did all these things so publicly, that the Venetians only laughed at them: nay the wisest heads could not believe

aga
there
der f
Duke
as lo
out
and
was
unde
than
the
ever
per
ther
time
mat
of t
son
Ven
bat
wh

there was any thing solid under such open proceedings. The Duke continued his preparations as long as he thought fit, without giving the least jealousy; and his indiscretion, which it was expected would ruin the undertaking, promoted it more than all the circumspection of the marquis of Bedmar. However the marquis judged it proper to hasten the execution, either not to allow the Venetians time to reflect seriously on the matter; or else on the account of the danger to which his person was exposed every day. The Venetian fleet having offered battle once to that of Spain, which refused it, and pillaged

74 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

the coast of Pozzuolo ; the rabble of Venice conceived so insolent a joy at it, that the ambassador and all his family would have been infallibly massacred, if guards had not been sent thither. The same day he had news from the camp before Gradisca, which comforted him for this accident: for Renault sent him word, that he had found the tempers of the troops so happily disposed, that he had finished his negotiation without loss of time. The ambassador ordered him to go to Milan before he returned; and Don Pedro received him with all the caresses with which great men are used to blind the minds of

ag
thof
their
that
some
Ven
at th
Tha
rest,
to t
shou
barr
ny n
naul
conf
some
facti
a Fre
Bera
tain
venc

those who ruin themselves for their service. They agreed, that it was requisite to seize on some town, belonging to the Venetians, on the Terra firma, at the same time with Venice. That this town would bridle the rest, and serve as a place of arms to the Spanish army, which should attack them, and as a barrier to Venice, if it made any motion to succour them. Renault passed through the most considerable towns, and made some stay at Crema, to form a faction there by the interest of a French Lieutenant named John Berard, and of an Italian captain, and one Alfier of Provence, whom Don Pedro had al-

76 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

ready engaged. These three persons offered to conceal five hundred Spaniards in the town without giving the least suspicion to the Venetian commander, and to get possession of it within eight days after. By the examination which Renault made of the thing, upon the spot, he judged it to be almost infallible with that number of men. They needed only to cut the throats of a sorry garrison, which had been drawn out of the militia of the country, all the regular troops of the Republic being in the towns of Friouli, or in the armies.

The Duke of Ossuna had also

persuaded the marquis of Bedmar, that it was necessary to have some place belonging to the Venetians in the gulph, which might lend a helping hand to the Uscoques and the Arch-Duke, and be a retreat to the Spanish fleet, if by any accident it was obliged to seek for a refuge in that sea, when it should be engaged there. They made choice for this purpose of Maran, a strong place in an island bordering upon Istria, and which had a harbour capable of receiving a large fleet. An Italian named Mazza, who had been serjeant-major of it during forty years, had almost as much authority there as the governor.

78 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

For a round sum of money, and an assurance of the command of it, he promised one of the Duke of Ossuna's emissaries, to kill the governor upon the first orders, and afterwards to make himself master of the place, and hold it in the name of the Spaniards. It was almost as easy to execute this promise, as to make it. For the governor, who was the proveditor Lorenzo Thi-epolo, lived with him in the highest familiarity; and because the office of proveditor called him frequently to the frontiers in time of war, he trusted the care of the town entirely to the serjeant-major, as being the oldest and most capable officer of

again

the ga
this co
thoug
last ha
that b
have
had a
he kn
signs
possib
mean
the g
at th
chang
thers
a mar
be ab
ber o
pital

the garrison. Affairs being in this condition, the ambassador thought he must now put the last hand to his work. Not but that by waiting longer, he might have added to the measures he had already taken; but delays he knew are pernicious to designs of this nature. It is impossible that all the different means which may contribute to the good success should be ripe at the same time. The first change their face, while the others are preparing; and when a man is once happy enough to be able to join a sufficient number of them together, it is a capital fault to let slip the fatal

moment of so precious a conjuncture.

It was of the last importance to the honour of the crown of Spain, that it should not be possible to convict its ambassador of having had a hand in the undertaking, in case it miscarried. In this view, he resolved not to open himself to any of the conspirators besides Renault and the captain; even these two did not know one another: they never came to him but when he sent for them; and he always appointed them different times, that they might not meet; because if they should be discovered, it would be much for his

aga

adva
ver h
appr
have
act t
com
havi
he j
and
the
he f
twe
thro
as h
bot
con
him
so
sho
inf

advantage, that they should never have been together. In this apprehension, he would gladly have continued to make them act their several parts without coming to be acquainted; but having considered it maturely, he judged it was impossible: and despairing in his soul of the success of his design, unless he settled a perfect union between them, he resolved to break through that difficulty, as much as he was against it. Though both of them had courage and conduct, Renault chiefly valued himself upon disposing things so well, that the execution should be easy, and the effect infallible. The captain, on the

contrary, who was far less advanced in years, prided himself most in being a man of great execution, and capable of an extraordinary resolution. The marquis informed him of the several negotiations Renault had transacted, of his admirable knowlege, which was able to find expedients for all emergencies, of his eloquence and address to gain new partisans, and his talent for writing, which was so necessary when there was an occasion to have perpetual accounts of the condition of the fleets, the provinces, and the armies; and therefor he conceived such a man would be a wonderful help to him. That

he was an old man of great experience, who wanted neither heart nor steadiness, but that his age and his genius, which was rather for the cabinet, than for action, rendered him incapable of sharing with the captain the glory of the execution. As for Renault, he only told him, that the captain was the Duke of Offuna's creature, and that as the Duke was to have the principal share in their design, there was no concealing any thing from his confident; that he conjured him therefor to condescend to the manners of the pirate, as much as should be necessary for their purpose, and to shew him all the deference which was

84 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

needful to conciliate the affection of a man of execution, haughty and presumptuous to the last degree.

The marquis having thus laboured to dispose these two men to carry it well each to the other, was mightily surprised the first time he brought them together at his house when he saw them embrace with a great deal of tenderness, as soon as they had cast their eyes upon one another. There is no mind so fixed and clear, but it is apt at first to make an unreasonable judgment of things which surprize it extremely. The first thought of the ambassador was,

that he was betrayed. As he had always imagined these men were strangers, he could not comprehend why they had concealed from him that they were acquainted. But the mystery was soon unriddled. For he understood they had seen one another at the house of a famous Greek woman, who had an extraordinary merit for a courtesan, of which there needed no other proof than this adventure, in which she had so religiously kept the secret, which they had enjoined her, of their names. This fidelity appeared to them the more to be admired, because she was not ignorant that they

had conceived a great esteem for each other.

The ambassador, being fully recovered from his surprize, was extremely pleased to find the union he so much desired ready made to his hand. They owned in the sequel of the conversation that they had each of them a private design to engage the other in the undertaking. As they were brim-full of their project in the conversations they had had together at that woman's house, they had fallen sometimes on matters of this nature, in talking of the affairs of the times, of the state, and of the war. This was done with-

but any design of doing it; however they freely acknowledged before the ambassador that the heat of argument had sometimes carried them a little too far, and that they had expressed their sentiments too openly. The ambassador exhorted them to make use of this reflection, to be more circumspect for the future, and to learn by this experience, that to keep a great design truly secret, it is not enough not to say nor do any thing which has any relation to it, but that a man must not so much as remember that he knows it. Renault then acquainted them, that since the rumours of a peace, which were revived towards the end of June,

the Venetian officers had treated the foreign troops very ill, who being no longer restrained by the count of Nassau, who died about the same time, had not behaved well before Gradisca: that the general of the Republic fearing they should do worse, had separated them, and put them into several posts, at the greatest distance from one another that he could chuse; and this precaution having made the distrust of their fidelity public, they had mutinied, and having insolently refused to execute some orders of the senate, that general had thought it is his duty to put to death the chief of the seditious; that he had con-

ned their leaders at Padua, and distributed the rest into different places of Lombardy, until they could be paid off, and the execution of the treaties permitted the Republic to dismiss them. Renault added that the count of Nassau's Lieutenant, who was one of the principal persons with whom he had negotiated, was banished to Brescia, and had contrived a plot there, by means of which, he was ready to put that town into the hands of Don Pedro; and that it was necessary, in the first place, to come to a resolution in reference to that particular design, because the lieutenant pressed in his letters to have a decisive answer.

The ambassador told them, no motion must be made on that side until they were masters of Venice; and even then there would be no occasion but for a single place in Lombardy; that they were assured of Crema, and that this new enterprize would only divide their forces; that however they should keep those they had gained in their good disposition; but the execution should be put off from time to time under different pretences, and rather than expose themselves to make the least declaration, that thought must be laid aside entirely. Renault replied, that besides the lieutenant, he had treated with three French

as
gen
Dur
regi
vile,
voya
had
neva
odon
an e
ans
ploy
nam
zana
and
to ca
That
to op
nine
he h
answ

gentlemen, whose names were Durand, serjeant-major of the regiment of Lievestein, De Brinvile, and De Bribe, with a Savoyard named de Ternon, who had been at the storming of Geneva, a Hollander named Theodor, Robert Revellido an Italian engineer, and two other Italians who had been formerly employed in the arsenal, and whose names were Lewis de Villa Mezana, a captain of light-horse, and William Retrofi, lieutenant to captain Honorat in Palma. That he had judged it necessary to open himself fully to these nine persons; but, in the manner he had chosen them, he would answer for their fidelity with his

head ; that during his stay in the camp they had already made sure of above two hundred officers ; and as for those officers, he had only given them to understand, according to the ambassador's orders, that the business was to repair to Venice, to deliver his Excellency out of the hands of the populace of that city, when occasion should require it. That since his return, having written to know the exact number of men on which he might depend, and desired them to report nothing but what was absolutely certain ; they had informed him, that he might reckon upon two thousand men of the troops of

Lievestein at least, and on two thousand three hundred of those of Nassau, and that all the officers were ready to put themselves into his hands, as a security for this promise. That in the beginning of this negotiation, they had flattered their soldiers with the hopes of some expedition which they should go upon, when they were discharged by the Republic, and in which they might make themselves ample amends for the misery they had suffered: that there was no ground to apprehend the singularity of the enterprise should dishearten them, even if it should be requisite to declare it; for they were so ex-

asperated against the senate, on account of the ignominious usage they had received, that there were no other reason, but they would answer there was nothing they were not capable of doing to be revenged. That however for the greater safety, the secret need not be revealed to them, unless it should be thought proper, 'till things were so well disposed, and so forward, that they could hardly doubt of the success: and that as it was resolved to give them Venice to plunder, there was not one who would scruple to enrich himself by so sure and ready a way, that he might pass the remainder of his days commodiously.

again

Fro

design

had d

in it

with

were

that t

indep

even i

pen t

not th

proce

not or

the D

of tro

what

him,

ment

and e

had

From the first projecting this design, the marquis de Bedmar had determined not to engage in it until he was furnished with many more means than were necessary to effect it; and that these means should be so independent one of another, that even if some of them should happen to fail, the others should not thereby be less capable to proceed. In this view, he had not omitted to fix measures with the Duke of Ossuna for the body of troops, tho' he reckoned on what Don Pedro had promised him, and upon Renault's agreement with the Dutch officers; and each of these three ways he had secured himself with the

96 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards.*

same caution and exactness as if he had had no assurance of the other two, and as if he had three different undertakings in hand. It was now time to know precisely when the Duke of Osuna could send to Venice the men which were desired of him. But because he was too uncertain in his opinion to be blindly relied on in so important and difficult a matter, some person must be sent to him, who could judge upon the spot, whether he was in a condition to perform what he promised. The captain could not be absent from Venice, without observation; and Renault was indispensibly necessary there: they

again

cast the
Bribe,
men w
ed in K
having
from t
diers,
to set
advise
with h
Nolot
comra
patch
day of
quist
to ope
of Sp
ustra
quire
ther

cast their eyes therefor on de Bribe, one of the French gentlemen whom Renault had engaged in Friouli: but this cavalier having received a commission from the Republic to raise soldiers, while he was preparing to set out; it was thought more adviseable that he should go on with his levies, and one Laurence Nolot of Franc county, and a comrade of the captain, was dispatched in his stead on the first day of the year 1618. The marquis thought it was likewise time to open himself to the council of Spain. To obviate all the illustrations which might be required from him, he sent thither his project, as much at

large, and as well represented as he was able: and because he knew the slowness of that court in its deliberations, he told the Duke of Lerma flatly in a private letter, that he must have a speedy and decisive answer; that the danger he was in gave him a right to express himself in that absolute manner; and that if they detained his express above eight days, he would interpret that delay as an order to abandon the whole design. He received an answer within the time he required, but it was not altogether so decisive as he would have had it; they told him, if there were any disadvantage in deferring it, that he

aga
migh
were
desire
faithf
the R

Th
pared
in dra
and a
have
" of
appea
was c
unde
there
the fo
with
the d
reaso

might proceed, but that, if it were possible, it was mightily desired to have first a full and faithful description of the state of the Republic.

The ambassador who was prepared on that head was not long in drawing up a relation so just and artful, that the Spaniards have called it 'the master-piece' of their politics.' It does not appear by it for what design it was calculated, and yet they who understand it find not one word there which does not relate to the scheme in view. It begins with an eloquent complaint of the difficulty of the work, by reason of the impenetrable se-

crecy of the government he is to describe. Then he praises the government, but the encomium respects rather the first age of that Republic, than its present condition: after this, he falls into a common-place equally sad and eloquent, of the deplorable condition of human things, which the more excellent they are, are the more subject to corruption: that therefore the wisest laws of that state, by the abuse which has been made of them, have been the principal cause of its present disorder; that the law which wholly excludes the people from the knowledge of affairs, has been the occasion of the tyranny of

against

he no

ects th

he cen

gistrate

ention

nice a

ince t

court:

centio

which

to ha

with

partic

of a

count

naud

churc

notw

vinist

Paul

he nobles: and that which subjects the ecclesiastical power to the censure of the sovereign magistrate has encouraged the licentiousness of the people of Venice against the court of Rome, since the late quarrel with that court: he exaggerates this licentiousness with the impieties which the Hollanders were said to have committed in Friouli with impunity; he exclaims particularly against the burying of a nobleman of their own country, whose name was Renaud de Brederode, in the church of the Servites at Venice, notwithstanding he was a Calvinist; and severely taxes father Paul in that article without

naming him, because it was he who had inspired that boldness into the senate: he admires how the people, being no longer restrained in their civil obedience by religion which is violated so many ways before their eyes, can bear the horrible oppressions with which they are loaded: he instances in these oppressions, and does not aggravate any thing while he represents them insupportable: he then shews that the honour and the blood of the people are not less at the discretion of the nobles than their wealth; and the genius of the nation being inclined as it is to avarice, to revenge, and to love, it is no wonder if those

who o
this na
who co
examini
of the
mies:
its div
ple to
maleco
he det
the pr
ruptio
made
the po
upon
them;
three
rison o
Reput
there,

who obey in a government of this nature are oppressed by those who command. In a word, he examines the state of the senate, of the provinces, and of the armies: in the senate he observes its divisions; and does not scruple to say, that he knows many malecontents among the nobles: he describes the desolation of the provinces, by the cruel interruptions the Uscoques have made in some of them, and by the poverty others have brought upon themselves in succouring them; he affirms there are not three officers paid in each garrison of Lombardy, and that the Republic preserves its authority there, only because nobody un-

dertakes to usurp it from them. As to the armies, he gives a just relation of the insurrections which have happened, and of the dispersion which had been made of the mutineers in such numbers, that those who were left could be looked upon only as a croud of wretched militia without experience or discipline. That as for the sea-forces, they were now become the refuse of the most infamous pirates on the Mediterranean; a crew unworthy of the name of foldiers, and of whose service the Republic could no longer be sure, than while they were not in a condition to turn her own arms against her. Having described

again

these
beauty
of ex
what
made
the fu
her fo
make
quen
facts
she i
that
natur
them
prese
chan

Up
cil o
Bedr

these things with a wonderful beauty of language and force of expression, he examines, what judgment ought to be made from hence, concerning the future state of this Republic, her fortune and duration, and makes appear by the consequences, which arise from the facts he has established, that she is in a decrepit state, and that her maladies are of such a nature, that she cannot bring them to a crisis, nor correct her present constitution, but by changing its form intirely.

Upon this relation, the council of Spain left the marquis of Bedmar in full liberty to act,

without giving him any orders; but Nolo's not returning put a stop to all, and the ambassador was out of patience at the fault he had committed, in exposing himself in an affair of this nature to the capricious humour of the Duke of Ossuna, whom he ought to have known long ago. A delay was mortal in this conjuncture of things. After the Spaniards had taken Vercelli, Gradisca was extremely pressed by the Venetians, and the council of Spain had no other way to save it, than to renew the propositions of peace. A writing was drawn up by concert at Madrid, which contained the principal articles; but the continu-

again

al diff
funa o
call th
fador,
negot
the de
cre g
favou
clude
and t
a con
with
regul
refer
but a
nor c
netia
fmal
bard
every

al disorders of the Duke of Os-
funa obliged the Venetians to re-
call the powers of their ambaf-
fador, in order to transplant the
negotiation into France, where
the death of the marshal d' An-
cre gave them hopes of more
favour. The peace was con-
cluded at Paris, September 6th,
and the governor of Milan had
a conference fome time after
with the Count de Bethune, to
regulate the execution of it in
reference to the Duke of Savoy:
but at the same time the gover-
nor continued to disturb the Ve-
netians, and even took some
small places from them in Lom-
bardy. They complained of it
every where, and were prepar-

ing for war more than ever, untill the Marquis de Bedmar made his compliments on the peace in a full senate, and promised the execution of the articles agreed. He did this not so much by any order he had received from Spain, as because he had a mind to wipe out the ill impressions the senate had entertained of him, from things which were past. In this view he acquitted himself on this occasion with all the zeal, and all the demonstrations of joy and friendship imaginable; and the Venetians, who too much desired what he promised them, suffered themselves to be dazzled by his words, even to the

again

agreei
sion of
was a
Spania
of the
was ft
that it
days l
were
pirati
that t
ry on
the
thing
treati
for to
this p
elaps
out o
ards,

agreeing with him on a suspension of arms. This suspension was an important stroke for the Spaniards, and the master-piece of their ambassador: Gradisca was straitened to such a degree that it could not hold out fifteen days longer: and yet hostilities were not to cease until the expiration of two months, because that time was judged necessary on both sides, to finish all the ratifications, and dispose of things for the execution of the treaties: it was requisite therefore to prevent the surrender of this place, before that time was elapsed; the suspension put it out of danger, and the Spaniards, having no longer that ob-

ligation to hasten the execution of the treaties, remained at liberty to spin it out in length, as much as was necessary for their designs. The Duke of Osuna indeed being compelled by orders from Madrid, and the instances of the Pope, offered soon after to restore the ships he had taken, but as for the merchandize and goods, he said, he knew not what was become of them: and yet they were selling in Naples, even before the eyes of the resident of Venice, and the Duke sent out a powerful fleet to cruise again in the Adriatic Sea.

aga

Th

to the
marq
comp
clare
to an
Duke
the K
answ
the m
treat
nice,
his a
sure
form
Vice-
coun
conce
the kn
funa

The senate complaining of it to the marquis de Bedmar, the marquis himself made stronger complaints of the same. He declared that he did not pretend to answer for the actions of the Duke of Ossuna, and that even the King their master would not answer for them: that among the many favours, and the good treatment he had received at Venice, during the whole time of his ambassy, the only displeasure he had had, was to be informed that the conduct of that Vice-Roy was imputed to his counsels: that he had never been concerned in it; that ever so little knowlege of the Duke of Ossuna would convince any one

that he had no other guide than his own caprice; and as to himself, they might judge of his disposition by the peaceable procedure of the governor of Milan, of which he gloried to be the author. That governor, it is true, observed the suspension exactly; but he still continued armed; and that it might not seem strange, he judged it proper to imbroid himself afresh with the Duke of Savoy. Under pretence that the troops discharged by that Prince had halted in the country of Vaux, waiting for the entire execution of the treaties, Don Pedro refused to the Count de Bethune to disarm, as he had before promised

aga

at Pa
Duke
wife
The
again
ing a
refus
to th
plau
de Be
plain
of g
the
since
thing
was
ceed.

Al
Offu

at Pavia, and prevailed with the Duke of Mantua to refuse likewise what depended on him. The count de Bethune protested against them in a public writing at his withdrawing on their refusal, and an answer was made to this protestation in the most plausible manner the marquis de Bedmar could invent. It is plain from hence, that it was of great importance to hasten the execution of his project, since it was so difficult to keep things in the situation which was requisite to make it succeed.

All this while the Duke of Ossuna did not dispatch Nolot;

and the ambassador, who was in the utmost perplexity, having engaged Nolot to discover the reason of it at any rate, he was informed at last what it was. Some time after the captain had been received into the service of the Republic, the Duke, who had a mind to learn by different ways the state of Venice, sent after him an Italian named Alexander Spinosa, to pry there into every thing. This man, who was not known, soon got to be employed there, as did all the soldiers of fortune who offered to serve. He easily judged the Duke was forming some momentous enterprize, but did not suspect the pirate was

the manager of it: he mistrusted however that he was not so ill with the Duke, as every body imagined. When Spinosa was arrived at Venice, he had made the Vice-Roy an offer to poniard the captain, and the Vice-Roy having refused it, under the pretence of the danger there was in executing it, Spinosa who was a man of sense, and knew the Duke, judged that if there was not some stronger reason for the refusal, he would not scruple to be revenged, out of fear of making a man lose his life by it. The Duke charged him however to observe the actions of the pirate; either to hinder Spinosa from suspect-

ing any thing of the truth, or because this Vice-Roy was one of those who do not entirely confide in any person, and was desirous to see, whether what Spinosa should write concerning the captain, would agree with what the captain should write himself. In order to acquit himself the better of his commission, Spinosa got into the company of some French men, whom he had known at Naples, and who frequented the captain very much at Venice. These persons, who were of the number of the conspirators, gave the captain an exact account of the inquiry Spinosa made unto his conduct, and discovered also that

aga

this
desig
to pr
actio
of O
muc
shou
fiden
surpr
derec
to cal
with
their
that
open
was
spy.
and I
on, t
lost t
ence

this spy was carrying on some design himself, and endeavoured to procure men of courage and action for the service of the Duke of Offuna. The captain was very much incensed that the Duke should not have an entire confidence in him, but he was not surprized at it; he only considered, that if Spinosa continued to cabal, and was not in concert with him, he would weaken their party by dividing it, and that it was impossible for him to open himself to a man, who was planted upon him for a spy. The marquis de Bedmar and Renault were also of opinion, that no time ought to be lost to remedy this inconvenience; and after having mature-

118 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

ly consulted how to do it, they found there was no safety for them, unless they destroyed Spinosa. He was a man that would sell his life dearly if an attempt should be made to assassinate him; his employment obliged him to be always upon his guard; and the captain was forced at last to accuse him before the council of Ten, as a spy from the Duke of Ossuna, after he had in vain tried all other means to take him off. The French, with whom he had conversed, deposed so judiciously, and supported things so well by circumstances, that he was seized, and strangled privately the same day. Whatever he could

Allege against the pirate made
no impression on the minds of
the judges, because it was a-
gainst his accuser, and he was
not able to prove any thing he
had advanced.

This affair very much increas-
ed the confidence of the Veneti-
ans had reposed in the captain,
but it made the marquis de
Bedmar very uneasy, because it
was an alarm to the senate, to
have a watchful eye upon the
conduct of those strangers, who
were in the service of the Re-
public. The Duke of Ossuna
had just been informed of the
death of Spinosa, when Nolot
arrived at Naples; he did not

hesitate in gueſſing at the author; the mortification it gave him made him take it ill, that the marquis de Bedmar had ſent him no advice of it; and the different ſuſpicions, which this accident raiſed in his mind, left him at a loſs what to reſolve upon. In the mean time the troops of Lieveſtein having murdered aſreſh, were brought to the Lazaretto, within two miles of Venice, by order of the ſenate, in the beginning of February. The marquis de Bedmar, who feared they ſhould come to an agreement with the Republic for their pay, and ſo be obliged to depart, contrived, by the means of their chief officers,

againſt

that the
the fun
ly offe
advan
hood o
able to
rators
expres
Roy, t
they f
ſand
mand
of hi
who
paſſio
that
the o
diers
shou
ed th

that they were not satisfied with the sum which was immediately offered them. To make an advantage of the neighbourhood of these troops, so favourable to the design of the conspirators, Nolot had orders by an express, to represent to the Vice-Roy, that during all that month, they should have near five thousand men ready at their command. Nolot omitted nothing of his duty; but the Vice-Roy, who had not quite digested his passion, amused him so long, that after six weeks expectation, the officers fearing lest their soldiers, who suffered extremely, should treat without them, treated themselves, with the consent

of the conspirators, who thought they could not prevent it. Ten days after, Nolot arrives from Naples, with the resolution of the Duke of Offuna, which was such as was desired, but directed to Robert Brulard, one of the captain's comrades: the ambassador and the captain, who were busied in contrived how to extricate themselves, did not vouchsafe so much as to take notice of the affront the Vice-Roy offered them by such a flight: he declared he was ready to send, when they pleased, the barks, brigantines, and other small vessels, proper for the ports and canals of Venice, and a sufficient number to carry six thousand

aga

men
lot ha
barks
capta
nals
whic
der t
Mark
sea-n
reaso
ing
come
as th
hiza
ther
ness
rema
part
stein
that

men if there was occasion. No-
lot had seen the troops and the
barks ready to set out, and the
captain caused the ports and ca-
nals to be sounded, through
which they were to pass, in or-
der to land at the place of Saint
Mark. As he had a great many
sea-men at his command, by
reason of his office, who, not be-
ing suspected, could go and
come in those ports and canals
as they pleased; it was easy to
him, to cause all the dimensions
thereof to be taken with exact-
ness. There was nothing now
remaining but to hinder the de-
parture of the troops of Lieve-
stein: no money was spared for
that purpose, and the rigour of

the season served for a pretence for their delay: the greatest part of them continued still at the Lazaretto; and those who were embarked when Nolot arrived, stopped at places which were not much more remote.

To relieve Renault and the captain in the cares which lay upon them, and for which they were not sufficient alone, they thought they wanted eighteen men at least, who should be men of sense and courage, and in whom they could fully confide. They had made up this number, of the nine with whom Renault had negotiated in Frioul, and of the chief of those

again
whom
follow
were
himse
seiles
bert
has
two
coun
lard,
other
ny Ja
two
and
an,
celle
man
passe
mast
ver

whom the pirate had caused to follow him from Naples. There were five captains of ships like himself, Vincent Robert of Marseilles, Laurence Nolot, and Robert Brulard, of whom mention has been made already; these two last were natives of Franc county, as well as another Brulard, named Laurence, with another Provencal named Anthony Jaffier. There were besides two brothers Lorainers, Charles and John Boleau, and an Italian, John Rizado, all three excellent petardeers, and a Frenchman named L'Anglade, who passed for the most ingenious master of fireworks that had ever been. The capacity of this

last was so well known, that he obtained at first to work at his trade in the arsenal; by this means the petardeers, his comrades, had a free admittance there, as well as Villa Mezzana, and Retrozi, who were of those whom Renault had engaged, and who had formerly been employed there.

These six persons drew so exact a plan of the arsenal, that those who had never been there, might deliberate upon it, with as much certainty as they who had made it. They were much assisted in this, by two officers of the arsenal itself, whom the captain had gained. They seem-

again
ed to
their
with
desig
if the
est, a
fully
mife
judg
he f
ther
conf
nifh
frib
blin
ma
the
nau
Fre
frie

ed to him to be dissatisfied with their employment, endowed with the qualities proper for his design, disposed to enter into it, if they found it for their interest, and capable of keeping faithfully to what they should promise. The issue answered the judgment he had made of them: he seasoned the praises he gave them upon all occasions, with so considerable a number of Spanish pistoles which he had to distribute, that they engaged to do blindly whatever he should command them. L'Anglade and they lodged in the arsenal; Renault had taken with him to the French ambassador's three of his friends, Bribe, Brainville, and

Laurence Brulard; the three petardeers remaining at the Marquis de Bedmar's, who furnished them with the powder, the other materials, and the instruments necessary to work at their trade, but without having any communication with them; they had already made more petards and fireworks than were necessary, and the ambassador's palace was so full, that it was impossible to lodge there any others besides themselves. The captain lived at his usual place of abode, but alone, that he might not give any suspicion in case he was observed; and for the others, he had lodged them at the courtesan's where he and

again

Rena
and t
succe
this v
the k
fidel
could
She v
Arch
nob
coun
the V
Vene
ther
deba
mife
ther
he v
perf
the

Renault first met. The esteem, and the friendship which had succeeded the love they had for this woman, but much more the knowlege they had of her fidelity, perswaded them they could not make a better choice. She was of a Greek island in the Archipelago, and of a quality as noble as it is possible to be in a country under the dominion of the Venetians without being a Venetian. He who commanded there for the Republic, having debauched her by mighty promises, had since caused her father to be assassinated, because he would have obliged him to perform what he had promised: the daughter was come to Ve-

nice to demand justice for the murder, but in vain; and this prosecution having consumed the small fortune she had, her beauty repaired her misery, as it had caused it. There is no resentment so violent as that of a woman well-born, who is reduced to take up a profession unworthy of her. She heard with rapture the project of her two friends, and without difficulty risked every thing in order to favour it. She hired one of the largest houses in Venice, and under colour of some conveniences she was causing to be made in it, she brought thither but part of her furniture, that she might have a pretence to keep

again
the h
which
two h
cipal
ed ne
visited
fashio
ans,
peopl
cover
she f
to ge
know
of th
Italy
com
cam
thof
The
by

the house they had before, which was not far off: in these two houses eleven of the principal conspirators were concealed near six months. As she was visited by all the persons of fashion, strangers and Venetians, and this great resort of people might be likely to discover those who lodged with her, she feigned herself indisposed to get rid of them. They who know with what civility women of this profession are treated in Italy, will have no difficulty to comprehend, that her house became hereby inaccessible to all those who had no business there. The conspirators went out only by night, and their meetings

were held in the day-time. In these meetings Renault and the captain proposed those things which they had agreed upon with the Marquis de Bedmar, to have the advice of the company, and come to a resolution on the means to execute them. When they had occasion to repair to the Marquis, they did it with all the circumspection which is necessary in a country, and at a time, when the houses of ambassadors were narrowly observed as if they were so many enemies, and the Marquis in particular. They had long concluded that it would be requisite to have a thousand soldiers in Venice, before they fired their

again

train:
gerous
armed
ed him
five h
done
dola's
search
any p
want
nity t
into
tion.

Th
in h
ny l
ouli
The
to g

train: but because it was dangerous to introduce them all armed, the Marquis had provided himself with arms for above five hundred: this was easily done with secrecy, for the Gondola's of ambassadors are not searched, let them come from any place whatever, and there wanted now only an opportunity to bring these thousand men into Venice without observation.

The Doge Donato died, and in his place was chosen Anthony Priuli, who was then in Friouli, to see the treaties executed. The generals by sea had orders to go and fetch him with the

navy, and the great chancellor and the secretaries of state were to meet him at a distance from the city, and carry him the ducal cap; twelve of the principal senators were to follow them almost as far, as ambassadors of the Republic, each of these single in a brigantine armed and adorned magnificently, and with a splendid retinue; the senate itself in a body was to receive him a good way out at sea on board the Bucentaure, and conduct him into the city with all this solemnity. As it rarely happens that they who are created Doges are out of Venice, this pomp drew thither an infinite number of curious people.

aga

The
forefa
assure
dispa
to Na
briga
funa
speed
of de
joine
exact
the ex
give h
passer
first j
large
he wa
the V
mean
it was

The Marquis de Bedmar, who foresaw it, as soon as he was assured of the election of Priuli, dispatched Nolot a second time to Naples, with orders to see the brigantines of the Duke of Osuna set out with the utmost speed. To remove all grounds of delay, the captain was enjoined to send to the Duke as exact a plan as was possible of the execution, and especially to give him an account of what had passed at Venice during Nolot's first journey. The pirate enlarged upon this precaution; he was for securing the mind of the Vice-Roy by all manner of means, and to shew him, that it was not believed there was any

reason to complain of him, he concluded his letter with these words. ' I blame Nolot's negligence for the long stay he made at Naples, for I question not, but if he had represented things as they were, your Excellency would have soon dispatched him. He must certainly have asked for money, or something like it, but he had exprefs orders to the contrary, and I undertake even now to keep Venice for six months in my power, if it be necessary, in expectation of your Excellency's great fleet, provided you send me the brigantines as soon as Nolot shall arrive, and the six thousand men

aga
' you
letter
the d
In t
brou
cers
been
them
obse
migh
loss
on.
chof
the
hold
at th
abse
able
ber
ing

'you was pleased to offer.' This letter was dated April the 7th, the day on which Nolot set out. In the mean time Renault brought to Venice all the officers of the troops which had been corrupted; to acquaint themselves with the town, and observe the posts, that they might not wander, nor be at a loss on the night of the execution. Before they came, they chose a thousand men out of all the Dutch troops, who were to hold themselves ready to march at the first orders; and that their absence might be less remarkable, they drew an equal number out of all the places belonging to the state on Terra-firma,

in which there were any dispersed. To receive these men, each of the officers hired as many lodgings as he could without giving a suspicion; they told the landlords that they were for strangers who came to see the festival; and as for the officers themselves, they all lodged at courtesans houses, where, paying well, they were in more safety than any where else. There remained nothing now but to regulate the order of the execution; which the Marquis de Bedmar, Renault, and the captain, settled in concert as follows.

again

' As
those
who
arms
selve
hou
pair
with
of th
go
neig
and
bark
like
four
with
with
and
of
at th

‘ As soon as it shall be night, those of the thousand soldiers who shall come without arms, shall go and arm themselves at the ambassador’s house. Five hundred shall repair to the place of St. Mark with the captain, the best part of the other five hundred shall go and join Renault, in the neighbourhood of the arsenal, and the rest shall seize all the barks, Gondola’s, and other the like carriages which shall be found at the bridge Rialto, with which they shall fetch with all haste about a thousand soldiers more of the troops of Lievestein, which are still at the Lazaretto. During this

‘ they shall deport themselves as
‘ peaceably as they can, that
‘ they may not be obliged to
‘ declare themselves, till these
‘ troops shall be arrived. How-
‘ ever if they should be obliged
‘ to it, and any thing should be
‘ discovered, the captain shall
‘ intrench himself within the
‘ place of Saint Mark, and Re-
‘ nault shall seize the arsenal,
‘ in the manner which shall be
‘ represented; then two great
‘ guns shall be fired to serve as
‘ signal to the brigantines of
‘ the duke of Ossuna, which
‘ shall be ready to enter Venice;
‘ and the Spaniards, whom they
‘ shall bring, shall supply the
‘ want of the Walloons who

against the Republic of Venice. 141

‘ shall be sent for. If there be
‘ no necessity to declare during
‘ this, when the Walloons shall
‘ be landed at the place of St.
‘ Mark, the captain shall take
‘ five hundred of them, with
‘ the other five hundred men
‘ he shall have already, and the
‘ serjeant-major Duran to com-
‘ mand them. They shall be-
‘ gin by drawing up these thou-
‘ sand men in order of battle in
‘ the place; then the captain,
‘ with two hundred whom he
‘ shall take, shall make himself
‘ master of the ducal-palace,
‘ and especially of the room of
‘ arms that is there, to supply
‘ those of his men who shall
‘ want any, and to hinder the

' enemies from making use of
 ' them: one hundred others,
 ' under Bribe, shall possess them-
 ' selves of the Secque, and one
 ' hundred more under Brain-
 ' ville of the Procuraty, by the
 ' help of some men who shall
 ' be artfully introduced there
 ' into the belfry in the day time.
 ' This last hundred shall remain
 ' in a Corps de Guard in the
 ' belfry so long as the execution
 ' shall last, that the alarm-bell
 ' may not be rung. Possession
 ' shall be taken of the entrance
 ' of all the streets which lead to
 ' the place, by another Corps
 ' de Guard; and artillery shall
 ' be planted there facing to the
 ' street, and till some can be had

again/

from
 shall
 mou
 the c
 hard
 no d
 all th
 thus
 Corp
 they
 find;
 ent ex
 the fe
 still
 midd
 troop
 with
 be; a
 gin t
 petar

from the arsenal, some of those shall be taken which are ready mounted before the house of the council of Ten which is hard by, and which it will be no difficult matter to seize. In all those places which shall be thus secured, and in which a Corps de Guard shall be kept, they shall poniard all they find; and during these different executions round the place, the serjeant-major shall remain still in order of battle in the middle, with the rest of the troops. All this shall be done with the least noise that may be; afterwards they shall begin to declare themselves by petarding the gate of the ar-

' fenal. At the report of which
 ' the eight conspirators who
 ' have drawn the plan thereof,
 ' and shall be within, shall set
 ' fire to the four corners with
 ' fire-works, which as well as
 ' the petards are prepared for
 ' this purpose at the ambassa-
 ' dor's palace, and they shall
 ' poniard the chief command-
 ' ers. It will be easy for them
 ' to do it in the confusion which
 ' the fire and the noise of the
 ' petards will occasion, especial-
 ' ly those commanders not hav-
 ' ing any suspicion of them.
 ' They shall then join Renault
 ' when he shall have entered,
 ' and make an end of killing all
 ' they find, and the soldiers shall

again

' carr

' ces,

' to p

' de M

' desc

' salt,

' cur

' to, a

' wh

' tere

' fista

' tha

' arse

' the

' sha

' pri

' kil

' sha

' for

' far

against the Republic of Venice. 145

‘ carry artillery to all the pla-
‘ ces, where it shall be proper
‘ to plant some, as at the Arena
‘ de Mari, at the Fontego de Te-
‘ deschi, at the magazines of
‘ salt, on the belfry of the Pro-
‘ curaty, on the bridge of Rial-
‘ to, and other eminencies, from
‘ whence the town may be bat-
‘ tered into rubish in case of re-
‘ sistance. At the same time
‘ that Renault shall petard the
‘ arsenal, the captain shall force
‘ the prison of St. Mark, and
‘ shall arm the prisoners; the
‘ principal senators shall be
‘ killed, and suborned persons
‘ shall go and set fire to above
‘ forty places of the town, the
‘ farthest distant one from ano-

146 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

‘ ther that is possible, that so
‘ the confusion may be the
‘ greater. In the mean while
‘ the Spaniards from the Duke
‘ of Ossuna, having heard the
‘ signal which shall be given
‘ them, as soon as the arsenal
‘ is seized, shall come and land
‘ also at the place of St. Mark,
‘ and immediately disperse them-
‘ selves in the principal quarters
‘ of the town, as that of Saint
‘ George, that of the Jews and
‘ others, under the conduct of
‘ the other nine chief conspira-
‘ tors. The cry shall be nothing
‘ but LIBERTY, and after all
‘ these things are executed, leave
‘ shall be given to plunder, but
‘ not the strangers; it shall be

again

proh
from
death
ter fl
who

Nolo

a postu
that th
put to
the con
named
the les
Ossuna
take a
to the
and
shorte
of the
some p

against the Republic of Venice. 147

prohibited to take any thing from them under pain of death, and no further slaughter shall be made but of those who shall resist.

Nolot found things in so good a posture at his arrival at Naples, that the six thousand men were put to sea the next day under the command of an Englishman named Elliot. In order to give the less suspicion, the Duke of Ossuna caused his large ships to take a great compass to repair to their posts; but he sent Elliot and the brigantines by the shortest way. The second day of their steering, this fleet met some pirates of Barbary who at-

N

tacked it. As it was only prepared to transport the men it had on board, and not to sustain a warm engagement, it was very much annoyed by the artillery of the Barbarians, whose brigantines were more manageable and better armed. But notwithstanding the great croud of men which were on board those of Naples did not allow them the necessary room to defend themselves in order; yet as they were all chosen Spaniards, they handled the enemy so roughly with their swords, that the pirates might perhaps have repented their stopping them in their course, if they had not both been dispersed by a furious

against

tempest
in the l
little flo
t could
some ti
Bedma
that he
emnit
Venice
magni
He pr
makin
new D
oy, w
promo
hopes
would
he fa
had la
uli, f

tempest which separated them
in the height of the action. The
little fleet was so damaged that
it could not put to sea again for
some time; and the Marquis de
Bedmar seeing by this news,
that he could not disturb the so-
lemnity which was preparing at
Venice, assisted at it with more
magnificence than any body.
He protested in a full senate,
making his compliment to the
new Doge, that the particular
joy, which he expressed at his
promotion, proceeded from the
hopes he had, that his Serenity
would preserve on the throne
the favourable dispositions he
had lately demonstrated in Fri-
uli, for the accomplishment of

the peace. At his return from this audience, he sent for Renault and the captain; at first he asked them if they thought it proper to lay the whole aside; they answered, they were not only of the contrary opinion, but that even their companions had appeared no more alarmed at this misfortune of the fleet than if it had safely arrived; and that they were all disposed to pursue the necessary measures to maintain things in their present situation, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity. The ambassador, who had put this question to them with trembling, embraced them with tears of joy after this answer. H

again

old th
and ve
have
hearts,
and da
dismay
ments,
night
mind,
natural
rizes;
est of
at a
pink
nievin
e has
onfou
nd cor
olved
arqui

old them with a chearfulness
and vehemence which would
have re-assured the faintest
hearts, and inspired intrepidity
and daringness into the most
dismayed, that great disapoint-
ments, which in common affairs
might reasonably surprize the
mind, are accidents which are
natural to extraordinary enter-
prizes; that they are the only
test of the strength of the soul;
that a man ought then only to
think himself capable of at-
chieving a great design, when
he has been able to see it once
confounded, with tranquillity
and constancy. It was then re-
solved in concert, between the
Marquis and his two confidents,

that the execution should be delayed till the feast of the ascension, which was not far off, and which is the greatest solemnity of Venice: and that in the meanwhile, the troops should be maintained in the places where they then were, and supplied with all the conveniencies they could wish: and for this purpose no money should be wanting to the principal officers; that of the three hundred who had been sent for to Venice, the heads should be retained, and the subalterns sent back to their troops, as well to keep the soldiers in their duty, as to discharge the town of so many, where such a number of officers might cre-

aga

ate a
were
ed in
ner,
ed of
leisu
the
the
tors
duct
the
dela
and
sau,
shor

A
wit
aga
by

ate a suspicion: that they who were detained should be employed in the most agreeable manner, that they might not be tired of waiting, nor even have the leisure if possible to reflect on the present state of things; that the twenty principal conspirators should observe their conduct narrowly; and to oblige the Republic to bear with the delay of the troops of Lievestein, and not to dismiss those of Nassau, the governor of Milan should not execute the treaties.

All the pretences that human wit can invent to defend itself against reason, were invented by the Marquis de Bedmar, and

154 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

put in practice by Don Pedro, and the Duke of Ossuna. Yet they were forced to make every day some steps towards a peace, as averse to it as they were; the council of Spain did not dare to hazard any thing, on hopes of so doubtful a success, as was that of the conspiracy; and France, which was for maintaining the treaty of Paris, obliged the Venetians to consent to the Duke of Savoy's disbanding the troops which halted in the country of Vaux, and served for a handle to the delays of Don Pedro. This difficulty being removed, the Marquis de Bedmar, in order to prevent that Prince from surrendering

aga
the p
Mon
be f
Duk
estab
agre
for t
Don
quar
who
amb
him
duk
reca
ing
but
pres
fall
Don
rest

the places he had taken in the Montferrat, caused a rumour to be spread, that as soon as the Duke of Mantua should be re-established, he would make an agreement with the Spaniards for that state: at the same time Don Pedro sprung a groundless quarrel with a minister of Savoy, who was come to Milan with the ambassadors of France, and sent him an order to depart: the duke, provoked at this affront, recalled him, and left off vacating the places he had taken; but the ambassadors having represented to him that he was falling into the snare which Don Pedro had laid for him, he restored them all at once. Don

156 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

Pedro was so astonished at this news, that he could not forbear shewing it publicly in his discourse; he was thereby forced to restore the prisoners, and the smaller places; but for Verceil, which was the important point, he made such strange difficulties, that Spain threatened to recall him before the usual time. At first he said, it would be ignominious to him to surrender that place while the ambassadors of France were at Milan, as it were to compel him to it by their presence; they withdrew: then he declared, he expected the Duke of Savoy should first restore certain lands which belonged to some ministers of

aga

Man
store
furre
whic
marr
King
Pied
self i
feren
dro b
and
but v
The
sent
dilat
of r
from
vour
but
tua,

Mantua; these lands were restored, and yet Vercelli was not surrendered: at last, France, which desired to conclude the marriage of Christiana the King's sister with the Prince of Piedmont, having explained itself in a decisive manner in reference to that place, Don Pedro began to send away the stores and artillery which were there, but with an incredible slowness. The Marquis de Bedmar having sent him word to be still more dilatory, he bethought himself of requiring new assurances from the Duke of Savoy in favour of the Duke of Mantua; but even the ministers of Mantua, tired with such prolonga-

158 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

tions, declared in a public writing, that they did not require those assurances.

As uneasy as this declaration made the Marquis de Bedmar, the conduct of the Duke of Osuna made him so much more. The Duke being wearied out with the complaints the Venetians caused to be made to him from all parts, on his continuing to disturb the navigation of the gulph, and not knowing what to allege further in his defence, thought fit at last to make this answer, that he should persist in it, as long as the Venetians should entertain in their service the most irreconcilable

again

enemi

It will

by the

sador

Dutch

of Off

raged

forme

He di

which

rate,

cut o

mann

deceiv

of the

dæmo

trava

funas,

a reso

their

enemies of the King his master. It will readily be apprehended, by the care and pains the ambassador had taken to detain the Dutch troops, of whom the Duke of Ossuna complained, how enraged he was, when he was informed of the Duke's answer. He did not doubt but the senate, which was for a peace at any rate, would dismiss them, to cut off from the Vice-Roy all manner of excuse. But the issue deceived once more the prudence of the Marquis de Bedmar: some dæmon, favourable to the extravagancies of the Duke of Ossuna, made the Venetians take a resolution directly contrary to their inclination and interest.

160 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

It was remonstrated to the senate, that the Republic by its procedure had shewn too much that it desired a peace, and this was what made the Spanish ministers so backward to execute it; that if they satisfied the Vice-Roy on his complaint, he would imagine he gave the law to Venice; and that instead of dismissing the Hollanders, they ought to retain the troops of Lievestein, who were to depart the first opportunity, till the treaties were perfectly executed. The joy which this resolution gave the Marquis de Bedmar, was interrupted by a discovery of the plot at Crema. L'Alfier the Provençal, and the Italian captain who

again
had
relled
capta
and t
confe
comm
L'Alfi
woul
had
escap
plices
notic
and t
was
the e
had
unde
of Mi
what

had been seduced there, quarrelled at play, and fought; the captain was mortally wounded, and to discharge his conscience, confessed all to the Venetian commander before he expired. L'Alfieri, who mistrusted what would happen, as soon as he had wounded him, made his escape with those of the accomplices to whom he could give notice; the others were taken, and the French lieutenant, who was the principal manager of the enterprize; but as Renault had always appeared to them under the character of an agent of Milan, and they did not know what was become of him since,

this affair fell only upon Don Pedro.

Eight days after, the serjeant-major who was to deliver up Maran, having for his own profit suppressed some vails which belonged to a Valet de Chambre of the Proveditore, and a pensioner of the Republic, the fellows were exasperated at the loss, and took the opportunity of his absence, to go into his house, where they broke open his chests, and carried off his money, and his papers, among which were found letters which made mention of his design: as he knew only the man that came to him from the Duke of Ossuna,

again
who
he co
Duke
soluti
in the
he kn
not fa
what
had r
if he
to rev
them
adva
giving
for
enter
there
it wa
ed th
hidd
proc

who had negotiated with him, he could accuse no body but the Duke; but he took a nobler resolution; he always answered in the midst of his tortures, that he knew very well they would not save him, let him discover what he would, and that he had rather leave his accomplices, if he had any, in a condition to revenge his death, than ruin them with himself without any advantage. A public thanksgiving was observed in Venice for these two discoveries; the enterprize however became thereby much more certain than it was before; the senate believed they had at last discovered the hidden cause of the irregular procedure of the Spaniards, and

seeing these two plots had miscarried, they imagined they were entering into a profound tranquillity, and no longer doubted of the accomplishment of the treaties. However the time of the execution was at hand. From the Sunday which precedes the ascension to Whitsunday, there is at Venice one of the most celebrated fairs in the world. The great resort of traders did not render the town more difficult to be surprized, and it gave an opportunity to the thousand soldiers, who came thither among the merchants, to enter it, and lodge themselves without observation. It was easy for them to leave the Vene-

aga
tian
dispe
time
to re
had
appl
the R
ny th
peop
man
time
at th
went
disgu
sons
was
thos
guag
be th
intel

tian towns, where they were dispersed, because for some time they who were most eager to return to their own country had deserted, and the Podestats applied no remedy to it, because the Republic would have so many the fewer to pay. But lest people should wonder that so many should desert in so little time; the major part gave out at their going away, that they went to the fair at Venice: they disguised themselves like persons of all professions, and care was taken to lodge together those who spoke different languages, that thereby they might be the less suspected to hold an intelligence, and they were all

166 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

cautious of giving any token that they knew one another.

The five hundred Spaniards designed for the execution of the plot at Crema, which was discovered, were sent at the same time by Don Pedro to the adjacent parts of Breschia, in order, upon the first advice of the success of the conspiracy, to seize that town by the assistance of a faction, which the lieutenant of the Count of Nassau had formed there, and which subsisted. He, who commanded these Spaniards, was instructed to lead them to Venice on the first notice he should receive from Renault. As for the Venetian

agai
fleet,
tia, b
sea a
cause
of th
capta
comm
his ab
of th
perfe
ships
the e
struft
for th
perce
charg
match
migh
that
shoul

against the Republic of Venice. 167

fleet, it was retired into Dalmatia, but was prepared to put to sea again on the first orders, because of the continual motions of the Duke of Offuna. The captain sent to the officers who commanded his twelve ships in his absence, artificial fire-works of the most furious sort, to disperse secretly in all the other ships of the fleet, the day before the execution. As no body distrusted those officers, it was easy for them to do it without being perceived or even suspected. He charged them to measure the matches so exactly, that all might take fire at once; and that if any ship escaped they should attack it, and make them-

selves master of it, or sink it with
 their cannon; and that after
 this they should repair to Ve-
 nice without losing a moment
 of time, and put themselves in
 a posture to execute all these
 things forthwith; but to wait
 however for a fresh order before
 they began. The day was fix-
 ed on the Sunday of the ascen-
 sion, which was the first day of
 the fair. The Duke of Ossuna
 had caused his little fleet to be so
 well convoyed this time, that it
 arrived without any accident
 within six miles of Venice. It
 was divided into two parts,
 which sailed at some distance
 from one another, to be the less
 observed. The greatest was

again

comp
 fisher
 and th
 tines,
 On Sat
 sent to
 post t
 proper
 Venic
 ing, a
 of St.
 of for
 he wa
 to ma
 wher
 nice
 that
 himf
 castle
 becau

composed of boats like those of fishermen, to avoid suspicion, and the rest consisted of brigantines, like those of the pirates. On Saturday morning word was sent to Elliot, to set out from his post the next day, at the hour proper to arrive within sight of Venice in the dusk of the evening, and to set up the standard of St. Mark; to possess himself of some small islands, by which he was to pass, which were able to make no defence, and from whence he might come to Venice without being perceived; that then he should present himself boldly before the two castles of Lido and Malamoco, because it was known there was

170 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

no garrison in them, and that he might pass between them without any obstacle; that he should advance within cannon shot of Venice, and give notice when he should be arrived there; and by the return of the boat which should bring that advice, the captain would send seamen to pilot him, lest he should be stranded on the shoals, with which the waters that encompass Venice are full, or should split against the rocks, which render the entrance of the ports impracticable to those who are not used to them.

As the following day was to be employed in disposing all

aga
thing
nigh
tain
confu
the d
panie
Rena
to the
giving
form
could
meet
were
lodg
tenar
the t
the t
the c
who
form

things for the execution of the night, Renault and the captain thought it proper to hold a consultation for the last time, the day before, with their companions; and the captain left to Renault the care of representing to them the state of things, and giving them the necessary informations. Whatever they could do, they could not all meet until near night. There were the three French men who lodged with Renault, the lieutenant of the Count de Naffau, the three petardiers, L'Anglade, the two officers of the arsenal, the captain and the lieutenant who had been employed there formerly, Nolot, the two Bru-

lards, Jaffier, Robert, the Hollander Theodor, the Savoyard who had assisted at the storming of Geneva, and the engineer Revellido. These twenty persons having shut themselves up at the Grecian woman's with Renault and the captain, in the most private part of the house, on these occasions, Renault made a speech. He began with a simple and large narration of the present condition of affairs; of the forces of the Republic and of their own; of the disposition of the town, and of the fleet; of the preparations of Don Pedro, and of the Duke of Ossuna; of the arms, and other warlike provisions which were at the house

again

of the
the in
senate
in a w
which
whate
know

Ha
tion o
tal of
whic
himf
all of
care :

' T
' tin
' po
' glo

of the ambaffador of Spain; of the intelligence he had in the fenate, and among the nobles: in a word, of the exact account which had been taken of whatever it was requifite to know.

Having gained the approbation of his auditors by the recital of thefe things, the truth of which they knew as well as himfelf, and which were almoft all of them the effects of their care as well as of his:

‘ Thefe, my companions, continued he, are the means appointed, to conduct you to the glory you are seeking, and

174 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

' each of you can judge, whe-
 ' ther they are not sufficient,
 ' and sure: we have infallible
 ' ways to introduce ten thou-
 ' sand armed men into a town
 ' which has not two hundred
 ' to oppose us; the plunder of
 ' which will unite to us all the
 ' strangers whom curiosity or
 ' trade has drawn thither; and
 ' even the people thereof will
 ' help us to strip the great ones,
 ' by whom they have been so
 ' often stripped, as soon as they
 ' shall see it safe to do so: the
 ' best ships belonging to the
 ' fleet are in our interest, and
 ' the others carry in them at
 ' present what will reduce them
 ' to ashes: the arsenal, the

agai

' wor

' terr

' sma

' pov

' wh

' hav

' mo

' selv

' me

' del

' in

' wi

' nei

' zar

' fir

' Ell

' tw

' co

' of

' th

against the Republic of Venice. 175

‘ wonder of Europe, and the
‘ terror of Asia, is within a
‘ small matter already in our
‘ power: the nine gallant men
‘ who are here present, and who
‘ have been ready these six
‘ months past to possess them-
‘ selves of it, have taken their
‘ measures so well, during this
‘ delay, that they run no hazard
‘ in answering for the success
‘ with their heads. If we had
‘ neither the troops of the La-
‘ zaretto, nor those on Terra-
‘ firma, nor the little fleet of
‘ Elliot to support us, nor the
‘ twenty Venetian ships of our
‘ comrade, nor the large ships
‘ of the Duke of Ossuna, nor
‘ the Spanish army in Lombar-

‘ dy, we should be strong e-
‘ nough, with our intelligences,
‘ and the thousand men which
‘ we have: yet all these different
‘ succours, I have named, are
‘ so disposed, that each of them
‘ might fail without doing the
‘ least prejudice to the rest; they
‘ may help one another, but they
‘ cannot hurt one another: it
‘ is almost impossible they
‘ should not all succeed, and yet
‘ one of them alone is sufficient.
‘ If after having taken all the
‘ precautions which human
‘ prudence can suggest, one
‘ may make a judgment of the
‘ success fortune intends us;
‘ what tokens can there be of
‘ her favour, which are not in-

ferior to those we have? certainly, my friends, they are miraculous: it is a thing without parallel in history, that an enterprize of this nature has been discovered in part, without being intirely lost; and ours has been proof against five accidents, the least of which, in all human appearance, ought to have overthrown it. Who would not have thought, that the ruin of Spinosa, who was projecting the same thing as we, should not likewise have proved ours? that the dismissing the troops of Lievestein, which were all devoted to us, should not have divulged what we

178 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

‘ kept secret? that the dispersion
‘ of the little fleet should not
‘ have broken all our measures,
‘ and produced many fresh in-
‘ conveniencies? that the disco-
‘ very at Crema, and at Maran,
‘ should not necessarily draw
‘ after it the detection of the
‘ whole scheme? yet all these
‘ things had no consequences;
‘ the traces were not followed,
‘ which would have led up to
‘ us; no advantage was made
‘ of the light they gave: did e-
‘ ver so profound a tranquillity
‘ succeed so great a confusion?
‘ the senate, as we are faithfully
‘ informed, the senate, I say, is
‘ in a perfect security: our good
‘ destiny has blinded the most

again

‘ clear

‘ coun

‘ lulled

‘ ous,

‘ sub

‘ are

‘ and

‘ we

‘ the

‘ our

‘ and

‘ tal

‘ So

‘ ble

‘ ter

‘ gro

‘ wo

‘ hu

‘ con

‘ up

‘ clear-sighted of all men, en-
‘ couraged the most timorous,
‘ lulled asleep the most suspici-
‘ ous, and confounded the most
‘ subtile and discerning. We
‘ are still alive, my dear friends,
‘ and are more powerful than
‘ we were before these disasters:
‘ they have only served to prove
‘ our constancy; we still live,
‘ and our life shall soon be fa-
‘ tal to the tyrants of this place.
‘ So extraordinary and invinci-
‘ ble a happiness must be pre-
‘ ternatural, and have we not
‘ ground to presume it is the
‘ work of some power more than
‘ human? and in truth, my
‘ companions, what is there
‘ upon earth, that is worthy

' the protection of Heaven, if
 ' what we are doing is not? we
 ' are about destroying the most
 ' horrible of all governments:
 ' we are about restoring wealth
 ' to all the poor subjects of
 ' this State, from whom the a-
 ' varice of the nobles would ra-
 ' vish it eternally without us;
 ' we shall save the honour of
 ' all the women, which might
 ' one day be born under their
 ' domination, with beauty e-
 ' nough to please them; we
 ' shall restore life to an infinite
 ' number of wretches, whom
 ' their cruelty has in its power
 ' to sacrifice to their least resent-
 ' ment, for the smallest matters.
 ' In a word, we shall punish

against

' them

' all m

' quall

' whic

' those

' with

' then

' swor

' torc

' min

' whe

' pala

' the

' fire

' hea

' nal

' ten

' the

' cor

' fla

against the Republic of Venice. 181

‘ them who most deserve it of
‘ all mankind, and who are e-
‘ qually polluted with the crimes
‘ which nature abhors, and
‘ those which she cannot suffer
‘ without blushing. Let us not
‘ then be afraid to take the
‘ sword in one hand, and the
‘ torch in the other, to exter-
‘ minate these wretches; and
‘ when we shall behold these
‘ palaces, where impiety is on
‘ the throne, burning with a
‘ fire, which is rather the fire of
‘ heaven than ours; these tribu-
‘ nals, which have been so of-
‘ ten sullied with the tears, and
‘ the substance of the innocent,
‘ consumed by the devouring
‘ flames; the furious foldier

182 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

‘ drawing out his reeking
‘ hands from the body of the
‘ wicked; death ranging thro’
‘ every quarter, and whatever
‘ hideous spectacles the darkness
‘ of the night and military li-
‘ cence are capable of produc-
‘ ing; let us then remember,
‘ my dear friends, that there is
‘ nothing compleatly pure a-
‘ mong men, that the most com-
‘ mendable actions are subject
‘ to the greatest inconveniencies,
‘ and in short, that instead of
‘ the various furies which laid
‘ waste this unhappy land, the
‘ disorders of the approaching
‘ night are the only means to es-
‘ tablish peace, innocence and
‘ liberty there for ever.

again

This

by the
compl
ally h
able
Renau
count
Jaffier
friend
sudden
tion i
he fir
that t
eyes
sadne
seized
spoke
made
ing v
he w

This discourse was received by the whole assembly with the complaisance which men usually have for sentiments agreeable to their own. However Renault, who had observed their countenances, remarked that Jaffier, one of the captain's best friends had fallen, all on a sudden, from an extreme attention into an inquietude which he strove in vain to hide, and that there still remained in his eyes an air of astonishment and sadness, which expressed a mind seized with horror. Renault spoke of it to the captain, who made a jest of it at first; but having viewed Jaffier for some time, he was almost of the same opi-

Q

nion. Renault, who perfectly understood the relations and necessary connections between the most secret motions of the mind, and the lightest external demonstrations which slip from it, when a man is in any agitation of thought, having maturely examined what had appeared to him in Jaffier's looks, thought himself obliged to declare to the captain, that he did not believe he was to be depended on. The captain, who knew Jaffier to be one of the bravest men in the world, accused him of judging precipitately, and beyond reason; but Renault, persisting to justify his suspicion, laid the grounds and the conse-

again

quence
clearly
not to
he wa
Jaffier
Howe
nault,
be sta
not in
nough
morro
to be
resolu
as it
sture
time
that i
be ru
force
was

quences of it before him so clearly, that if the captain was not touched by them as deeply, he was convinced at least, that Jaffier ought to be watched. However, he represented to Renault, that if even Jaffier should be staggered, which he could not imagine, he had not time enough left betwixt then and to-morrow night to deliberate how to betray them, and to take a resolution thereon; but let it be as it would, in the present posture of affairs, there was no time to form new measures, and that it was a risque which must be run, either willingly or by force. Renault replied, there was one sure way not to be ex-

186 *The Conspiracy of the Spaniards*

posed to it, and that was to poniard Jaffier themselves that night. The captain remained silent a-while at that proposition; but at last he made answer, that he could not resolve to kill the best friend he had upon a bare suspicion; that the action might be attended with several ill consequences; that he was afraid it might startle their companions, and render them odious to them, and make them believe they affected a sort of empire over them, and pretended to be sovereign arbiters of their life and death; that there was no room to hope, they would apprehend the necessity of destroying Jaffier as well as themselves; and not ap-

prehending it, each conspirator would with grief behold his life exposed to the first imagination of that nature they might entertain of him; that when men's minds are in a vehement motion, a small matter may give them a wrong turn, and the least alteration they should make in that state, is always of mighty moment, because they can take none but extreme resolutions; that if they were to conceal the manner how Jaffier came to disappear among them, it was still more to be feared the company would believe he was discovered and fled, or else was a prisoner, or a traitor; and that whatever pretence they in-

vented, his absence on the evening before the execution, he having so great a share therein as he ought to have, could not but intimidate them, and suggest to them melancholy thoughts.

Renault listened with attention to the captain's discourse, when one of their people came in to them with an order from the senate, for all those who had any post in the fleet to go on board the next morning. At the same time was brought a note from the ambassador which discovered the reason of that order. The Duke of Ossuna could not leave Naples so privately to re-

again

pair to
spies
prized
an ord
be fur
til a c
letters
ther f
netian
his d
The A
ly ele
desire
gainf
who
the
that
succo
very
Istria

pair to his great ships, but the spies of the Republic were apprized of it; but as he had left an order that no carriage should be furnished to go to Venice until a certain time, and that all letters which were directed thither should be stopped, the Venetians could not have advice of his departure before that day. The Arch-Duke, who was lately elected King of Bohemia, had desired succour from him against the rebels of that country who began to be in motion, and the Vice-Roy having boasted that he would conduct those succours thro' the gulph to the very ports of the Arch-Duke in Istria, the Venetians had caused

him to be intreated even by that Prince to take another rout; but as he did not govern himself by those reasons which govern other men, when they were certified of his departure, they made no doubt but it was to conduct in person those succours by the way he had resolved. They would not dispute the passage with him, as they might have done, because they did not seek a rupture, and only chose to send their fleet to the coasts of Istria, where he was to land his troops, in order to observe him, and restrain him from the various temptations he might be under, at the sight of their maritime places.

The firmest resolutions of men usually proceed from a strong imagination of the danger they have to encounter. By the help of this imagination, the soul familiarises itself at last with the circumstances of the danger, how frightful soever they may be by the repeated consideration of them; but then all the firmness of its resolution is so affixed to those particular circumstances, that if any one of them happens to alter at the point of execution, it is a very great hazard that the resolution will also change. This was what Renault and the captain dreaded might befall their companions on account of the unforeseen

embarkation of the Venetian fleet, which they were just informed of; and this news gave them much uneasiness, because they immediately judged it would oblige them, tho' ever so much against their will, to make some alteration in the manner after which they had first disposed the execution of their enterprize. This execution could not be performed that instant, because the night was too far advanced, and it would be day before notice could be given to the little fleet to approach within cannon-shot of Venice, where it was requisite it should be to begin, and before the troops which were at the

again
Lazar
for th
being
order
wife
thofe
repa
fleet
navy
mos
tors
ing
all t
ed,
it ti
The
wh
the
the
the

Lazaretto could be sent for. As for the next day, the Venetians being put to sea, if Elliot was ordered to move forward likewise, he would infallibly meet those who would be all that day repairing from Venice to the fleet. The course the Venetian navy was to make, was the most favourable the conspirators could wish, for it was going to turn its back to Elliot; and all things being well considered, it was judged proper to give it time to get to some distance. The difficulty was to resolve whether the captain, L'Anglade, the three petardeers, and the other conspirators who had posts there, should obey the order of

the senate. They seemed indispensibly necessary at Venice for the execution, especially the captain; and yet he was the man who could least of all stay behind; the important command he had in the fleet would make him more taken notice of than all the others together; as most of them had employments on board his ships, he could almost alone supply their default by his authority, if he were present, and even hinder their absence from being perceived. These reasons made them conclude, that he should go with only L'Anglade, whose employment in the fleet depended immediately on the general as

ago
well
deer
they
ther
the
as h
ansv
conc
teza
of h
and
whi
awa
to fi
was
be g
fam
send
days
they

well as that of the three petardeers; but as for the petardeers, they chose to risque all than let them depart. The general asked the captain after them as soon as he saw him, and the captain answered, he believed they were concealed in Venice in the courtezan's houses, as well as some of his officers whom he missed, and that the precipitation with which he was obliged to come away, had not given him time to find them out. The general was so pressed by the senate to be gone, and so busy for the same reason, that he could not send to seek them for several days, and still less stay until they were found.

Before he went on board, the captain took Jaffier aside, and prayed him to supply his place with Renault on the night of the execution. He magnified to him the confidence they had in his conduct and courage, and told him, that without that assurance, he should never have resolved to go, but that he thought he left another self to his companions while Jaffier remained with them. During this speech, the captain observed him with attention; but the man being warmed with testimonies which were given him of the esteem that was entertained of him, answered with such tokens of zeal, fidelity and acknow-

again
legends
firm

The
dying
quite
friend
no lo
only
the co
to ke
ed h
certa
naul
the e
of hi
to fu
not
mag
ture;

legement as would have confirmed the most suspicious.

This was the last effort of his dying resolution: it vanished quite, when the face of his friend was turned; and having no longer before his eyes, the only man who was capable, by the consideration he had for him, to keep him firm, he abandoned himself intirely to his uncertainty. The description Renault had given of the night of the execution in the conclusion of his harangue had struck him to such a degree, that he could not moderate his pity. His imagination improved that picture; and represented to him

exactly, and in the most lively colours, all the cruelties and injustices which are inevitable on such occasions. From that moment he heard nothing on all sides, but the cries of children trampled under foot, the groans of aged men in murdering, and the shrieks of women ravished; he saw nothing but palaces tumbling down, churches on fire, and holy places defiled with blood. Venice the sad, the deplorable Venice, presented itself every where before his eyes, no longer triumphant as formerly over the Ottoman power, and the pride of Spain, but in ashes, or in irons, and more drenched in the blood of its in-

habit
which
mal
and
him,
ende
is m
furio
of h
pose
his
tray
frien
gen
in h
the
geth
nun
in t
to r

habitants, than in the waters which encompass it. This dismal image pursues him night and day, solicits him, presses him, staggers him; he in vain endeavours to drive it away, it is more obstinate than all the furies, possesses him in the midst of his repasts, disturbs his repose, and even mingles itself in his dreams. But then, to betray his friends! and what friends? men intrepid, intelligent, of unrivaled merit each in his several way; it would be the work of ages to bring together a second time so great a number of extraordinary men in the moment they are going to render themselves memor-

able to the latest posterity; and must the fruit they are ready to reap from the greatest resolution that ever entered into the mind of a private man, be ravished from them? how will they perish? by torments more strange and exquisite than all those which the tyrants of passed ages have invented: who does not know that there is a prison at Venice, which is more capable of shaking the constancy of a man of courage, than the most frightful punishments of other countries!

These last reflections, which attacked Jaffier in his weakest part, confirmed him in his first

again
fentin
his co
soul t
of Ve
contin
until
to wh
defen
from
ing:
answ
failin
Mar
the
be f
a bo
him
and
adv
The

sentiments; the pity he felt for his companions balanced in his soul that which the desolation of Venice had excited, and he continued in this uncertainty until the day of the ascension, to which the execution had been deferred. There came news from the captain in the morning: he sent word that he would answer for the fleet, that it was sailing to the neighbourhood of Maran, and at the same time as the troops of Lievestein should be sent for from the Lazaretto, a boat should be dispatched to him to acquaint him with it, and that he would wait for that advice to begin to act on his side. They sent Elliot the guides that

were promised him; suborned persons were introduced into the belfry of the Procuraty of St. Mark, who had some acquaintance with those who kept guard there, and who laid them asleep by means of drugs and scents proper for that purpose, mixed with their food and liquor, and by making them drink and eat to excess on account of the public rejoycings of the day. Orders were given to certain chosen officers, to possess themselves of the houses of those senators who were most to be feared, and to kill them. Each had the house marked out to him which he was to attack, as had also each of the principal

again
conspi
cers, t
the m
where
word
the w
lead t
given
retto,
little
Holla
in V
divid
of St.
all to
they
ders
them
know
Cour

conspirators, and the other officers, the post he was to take, the men he was to have, and where he was to take them, the word to know them by, and the way by which he was to lead them; notice was likewise given to the troops at the Lazaretto, to the Spaniards of the little fleet, and to the thousand Hollanders who were already in Venice, how they were to divide themselves from the place of St. Mark, where they were all to rendezvous, the places they should seize, the commanders which were appointed them, and the watch-word to know them: the artillery of the Council of Ten was visited by

persons no way to be suspected, and it was found to be in a condition to serve.

Jaffier had the curiosity to see the ceremony where the Doge espouses the sea, because it was the last time it was to be performed. His compassion revived at the sight of the public rejoycings; the profound tranquillity of the unhappy Venetians gave him a more lively sense of their approaching desolation, and he returned more irresolute than ever. But at last Heaven, not willing to abandon the work of twelve ages, and of so many able minds, to the fury of a courtesan, and of a company of

again
proflig
Genius
Jaffier
which
and hi
went t
cretary
and to
very
concer
but fi
and th
him o
gage
cred
ratify
favou
and
name
shoul

profligate wretches, the good Genius of the Republic inspired Jaffier with an expedient by which he hoped to save Venice and his companions at once. He went to Barthelemi Comino, secretary of the Council of Ten, and told him he had something very urgent to reveal, which concerned the safety of the state; but first he required the Doge and the Council should promise him one favour, and should engage themselves by the most sacred oaths to make the senate ratify their promise; that the favour was, the lives of two and twenty persons he should name, whatever crime they should have committed; but

that they should not think of wresting the secret from him by torments without granting him this favour, for there were not any horrible enough to force a single word from his mouth. The Ten were assembled in a moment, and immediately sent to the Doge, to receive from him the promise Jaffier demanded. He hesitated no more than they to give it; and Jaffier, being fully satisfied with what he was going to do, discovered to them the whole conspiracy. The thing appeared so horrible to them, and so prodigious, that they could not believe it. However, as it was easy to verify some particulars of it, Comino

aga

was
Procu
back
who
They
He v
coul
been
vant
thre
door
brok
at it
He
thre
finis
ed f
ther
on
had

was sent to the belfry of the Procuraty. He brought word back, that he had found the whole guard drunk or asleep. They sent then to the arsenal. He was a good while before he could find the officers who had been corrupted: but at last a servant, being intimidated with his threats, shewed him a little door, which he caused to be broke open, after he knocked at it several times to no purpose. He found the officers with the three petardeers, who were just finishing the fire-works designed for the execution. He asked them what obliged them to work on so holy a day, and why they had not opened to him when he

knocked ? They answered, that the petardeers were set out the next day to repair to the fleet ; that the general had ordered them to bring a great number of fire-works ready to play off ; that there not being so many ready as he required, they had desired the others to assist them to make some ; that as the thing might be of consequence, they thought they might be dispensed with as to the observation of the festival, and that in order to do it without scandal they had shut themselves up, as he found them, in the most retired part of the arsenal, which they had chosen on purpose. Though

again

Comi
this a

Th
more
place
houf
there
who
the
terfe
rest,
but
whe
whe
alar
mon
lido
ranc
lard

Comino could make no reply to this answer, he arrested them.

The Ten, being frightened more and more, sent in the next place to the Grecian woman's house, but no body was found there. The suborned persons, who had laid the guard of the belfry asleep, had counterfeited sleeping as well as the rest, when they saw Comino; but he was hardly gone out, when they ran to the Grecian's, where they gave so warm an alarm, that without losing a moment, Nolot, Robert, Revelido, Retrofi, Villamezzana, Durand, Ternon, and Robert Brulard, who chanced to be with

her, went and cast themselves all together into one of the barks, which had been retained at the Rialto to fetch the troops from the Lazaretto, and got happily out of Venice. The grief which the Council had for their escape, made them resolve to search the houses of the ambassadors of France and of Spain without further delay. They asked civilly for an admittance about an affair which related to the safety of the Republic. The Frenchman granted it as civilly, and Renault was taken, and brought away with Laurence Brulard, and de Bribe: but the Spaniard refused them with bitterness: he alleged all the

again
privil
prote
violence
when
force.
for a
sixty
quan
work
inven
which
ing t
when
broug
a nob
liera
vile
princ
had l
disco

privileges of his function, and protested furiously against the violence which was offered him, when he saw them enter by force. They found there arms for above five hundred men, sixty petards, and an incredible quantity of powder, of fireworks, and such like. An exact inventory was taken of all, at which he was present, ridiculing them all the while. Just when this inventory was brought to the Council of Ten, a nobleman of the house of Valiera arrived there with Brainvile and Theodor, two of the principal conspirators. They had been informed, that all was discovered, and despairing to

save themselves, because they knew all the ports were shut up since the Greek woman's escape, they resolved to make a shew as if they would discover the conspiracy, and went to this noble Venetian, whom they had known in Flanders, to get him to introduce them to the Council; where they were seized. In the mean time a general search was made in all the taverns, inns, lodgings, gaming-houses, infamous places and others, where strangers might hide themselves; and all the officers, either Dutch, French, Spaniards, Walloons, Neapolitans, or Milanese, were secured, to the number of near four hundred.

While these things were doing, two natives of Daufiny, who came from Orange, arrived in their boots, as they had flung themselves, at quitting their horses, into the barque which brought them. They told the Council, that some Frenchmen, their friends, having writ to them from Venice, that if they had a mind to enrich themselves, they only need haste thither, because there was a conspiracy just ready to be executed, to seize the town and give it to be plundered, they were come with all speed to detect so great a wickedness, instead of sharing in it. They were thanked, lodged honourably, and desir-

ed to rest themselves until the senate had time to deliberate on the reward which was due to them. In the mean while, the day came: the senate assembled, and the Marquis de Bedmar demanded audience. It was granted him out of mere curiosity. The noise of the conspiracy was then spread over the city, and occasioned a dreadful disorder. The people, who had a confused notion that the Spaniards were the authors of it, got together about the ambassador's palace, in order to break into it, and were ready to set it on fire, when they who were to conduct him to audience, arrived. They made known their commission; and

again

the pe
with l
inflig
punis
and a
injur
ginal

Th
ed in
bitter
olenc
ed in
law
nied
hau
of re
of t
stern
had

the people flattering themselves with hopes that the senate would inflict on him an exemplary punishment, suffered him to go, and attended him with all the injuries and imprecations imaginable.

The ambassador, being entered into the senate, began with bitter complaints against the violence which had been committed in his house, contrary to the law of nations; and accompanied his complaints with such haughty and furious menaces of revenge, that the major part of the senators were in a consternation, and dreaded least he had still some invention, which

was not known, to accomplish his design. The Doge answered him, that they would excuse that out-rage to him, when he had given them the reason of the warlike preparations which were found in the house of him, who, as an ambassador, ought to be a minister of peace. He replied, that he was astonished, persons who were esteemed so wise, should be so weak as to insult him to his face on so gross a pretence; that they knew as well as he did, that all these provisions were but deposited in his house, as had been done formerly, in order to be sent to Naples and Tirol; that

again

as for
knew
as the
the to
publi
work
kind
traor
them
indu
curio
ing l
men
or r
the
kind
wor
bass
gov
been

as for the arms, all the world knew there were none so good as those which were made in the towns belonging to the Republic, and that for the fire-works and other things of that kind, some work-men of an extraordinary skill having offered themselves to him, he had been induced to employ them out of curiosity. The Doge interrupting him, told him those work-men were profligate wretches, or rather monsters, born for the everlasting shame of mankind; and as he spoke those words he presented to the ambassador a letter of credit to the governor of Milan, which had been found among Renault's pa-

pers, with other letters from the Duke of Ossuna. The ambassador made answer, that as for the Duke of Ossuna, he had declared his sentiments before, that he knew nothing of his conduct; and as for the letter of credit, it was true the French ambassador had recommended to him a gentleman some time ago, who stood in need of favour at Malan for a particular affair, and he had given that man the letter they shewed him; but that he was wholly ignorant that the Republic was any way concerned in that affair. The Doge seeing by his replies, that the ambassador would never want an answer, contented

aga

himf
him v
of hi
ed wi
very f
his m
it. T
this
transf
whof
justly
to wh
were
no ne
artific
that
powe
them
out m
as m

himself with representing to him very strongly the blackness of his enterprize, and concluded with protesting they were all very far from thinking the King his master had the least hand in it. The ambassador replied to this remonstrance with all the transport of a man of worth, whose honour is attacked unjustly; that he was of a nation to which bravery and prudence were so natural, that they had no need to have recourse to ill artifices to ruin their enemies; that the King his master was powerful enough to destroy them by open force, and without making use of treacheries, as might very shortly appear.

T

He went out abruptly after these words, without any ceremony; they who conducted him, begged him to rest himself a little in an apartment just by, until the senate had given the necessary orders for his safety; and he suffered himself to be conducted where they pleased, raging with anger, and without making any answer. While the populace was got together in the place to tear him to pieces when the senate should deliver him up; it was easy to those who were sent to his house with a strong guard, to ship off his domestics, and his most valuable furniture; after which they came to fetch him, and conduc-

ted him through private passages of the palace to a brigantine well armed, and attended with a good convoy.

The people, enraged at his escape, made images of him and the Duke of Offuna, to which they did all that they would have done to their persons, if they had been in their power. Orders were sent at the same time to sea, to drown L'Anglade, the captain Jacques Pierre, and all the trusty officers the captain had on board his ships. As it was supposed they would be upon their guard, they chose a vessel of the strangest and most unusual form that could be found at Venice to car-

ry the order; it was equipped after the most likely manner to make it be thought not to come from thence, and took a large compass about, to arrive from the contrary side to that it ought, if it came from Venice. It was known afterwards that the captain had been all the night in expectation, and seeing this vessel arrive, he retired immediately into the largest of his ships, as if he had suspected the truth, and was for putting himself in a condition to make a defence in case he was betrayed. But it is probable that the fear of ruining all through a terror which might be merely a panic, stopt him some time,

to deliberate whether he ought to declare himself or not; for the general, who did not lose a moment, having sent to him two chosen men, and no way suspected, they entered without arms as to appearance, into the place where he was, and found him alone, and accosting him with an air as free as usual, poniarded him on a sudden, and flung him into the sea, without any one's perceiving it. L'Anglade and forty of his officers were served after the same manner, and with the same secrecy.

In the mean time Renault being interrogated at Venice, answered, that he knew not what

they meant. They shewed him the letter of credit to Don Pedro, a pasport in Spanish for all the countries under the obedience of Spain; bills of exchange for great sums, and a thousand pistoles besides. He said that he knew neither the Spanish ambassador, nor the governour of Milan; and therefor if there was any thing amongst his papers relating to them, it must have been put there by somebody else; and as for the bills of exchange, and the pistoles, they were all that he was worth in the world. They put him on the ordinary and extraordinary rack; but he said nothing farther, unless that he was a poor

aga
old
and
wou
was
vera
impr
if he
knew
after
all t
he v
son,
one
tena
the
rene
ficer
in t
ing
fam

old man, of worth, quality, and honour, and that God would revenge him. The rack was brought before him for several days following, and even impunity was promised him, if he would confess all that he knew; but to no purpose. And after having been tortured in all the forms at several times, he was at last strangled in prison, and hung up publicly by one foot, as a traytor. The lieutenant of the Count de Nassau, the three petardeers, Bribe, Laurence Brulard, and the two officers of the arsenal, were hung in the same manner, after having suffered the rack with the same constancy; but Brainvile,

Theodor, and above three hundred officers, were only strangled or drowned privately.

Jaffier in the mean while being enraged at the ill success of his compassion, made loud complaints that the Council of Ten did not keep their promise with him in favour of his companions. It had not been violated, but after a mature deliberation. Nay, several were for having it religiously observed; others remonstrated, that if the conspiracy had been made known by Jaffier only, it might have been a question; but two natives of Daufiny having also revealed it, the senate were at full liberty

aga
to a
if Ja
ry.
ing f
publ
thin
to th
vour
forts
him
he r
quin
nion
Ven
thei
hear
to q
the
the
thou

to act after the same manner as if Jaffier had made no discovery. This advice carried it, being supported by the horror and public fright, though many things might have been urged to the contrary. They endeavoured to appease Jaffier by all sorts of means: they offered him money, and employment; he refused all, and inflexibly required the lives of his companions in vain, and at last left Venice quite inconsolable for their execution. The senate hearing this, sent him an order to quit the states belonging to the Republic in three days, at the peril of his life, and four thousand sequins which they

forced him to take. The pity he felt for his companions redoubled upon him, as often as he reflected that he had been the cause of their death: he understood, as he was travelling, that the design against Breschia was still in a condition to succeed: the desire of being revenged on the senate, made him fling himself into that town, but he was hardly got there, when the Council of Ten having found out that affair by the papers of the conspirators, sent thither some troops, who took possession of the principal posts, and put several Spaniards who had been introduced there to the sword. Jaffier was taken fight-

ing at the head of them, like a man who only seeks to sell his life dearly; and being brought back to Venice a few days after, he was drowned there, the next day after his arrival.

The death of this unhappy wretch having fully restored tranquillity to this noble city, the first care of the senate was to demand another ambassador at Madrid. Don Lewis Bravo was accordingly nominated for that employment, with orders to set out immediately; and the Marquis de Bedmar gave him, according to custom, an instruction, which might be reduced almost to these two points. The

first was, that the new ambassador should upon all occasions vehemently blame the conduct of his predecessor, and affect to follow the quite contrary, even in the most indifferent things. The other point was, that in all matters he should have to negotiate relating to the rights and pre-eminences of the Republic, he should make use, instead of all other memoirs, of the Squittinio della Liberta Veneta, to which the Marquis referred him in several places of this instruction, and in terms, which, though modest, discover sufficiently the paternal fondness he had for that libel. In the mean

aga

while
of t
throu
the R
der
any
the I
niarc
cats
tives
from
cove
thin
end
resto
of O
sent
of
ther

while was published, by found of trumpet, and in writing, through all the territories of the Republic; a prohibition under pain of death, to impute any part of the conspiracy to the King of Spain, or the Spaniards. Thirty thousand ducats were given to the two natives of Daufiny, who came from their own country to discover it: Don Pedro, seeing all things past retrieval, made an end to disband his troops, and restored Vercelli. The Duke of Ossuna gave considerable presents to the wife and children of the captain, when he set them at liberty; and the Mar-

quis de Bedmar had an order from Spain, to go and serve as first minister in Flanders, and some years after he received a Cardinal's hat from Rome.

I N D E X.

I
A DR
rate
Spain,
Uscogu
ALFIER
Don P
of Cres
an Ital
Is obli
ANCRE,
ANGLA
cellent
senal o
by ord
to the
ARCH-D
desires
Naples
AUSTRI
ings b
many,
Ferdin

BARBA
Ofuna
an Eng
by a fu
BEDMA
Spanis
and ab
Venice
obscure
Secreta

I N D E X.

A.

A DRIATIC Coast, much infested by a set of pirates, encouraged and protected by the court of Spain, and the Arch-duke Ferdinand, 13, 14. See Uscoques.

ALFIER, de, of Provence; engaged by Renault, and Don Pedro governor of Milan, to betray the town of Crema to the Spaniards, 75, 76. Quarrels with an Italian Captain at play, and kills him, 169, *etc.* Is obliged to fly, 161.

ANCRE, Marshal De; 107.

ANGLADE, Le, one of the conspirators, and an excellent engineer, 125. Allowed to work in the Arsenal of Venice, 126, 127. Killed aboard his vessel, by orders from the Venetian Senate, and thrown into the Sea, 223.

ARCH-DUKE, Ferdinand, elected king of Bohemia, desires succours from the Duke of Ossuna Viceroy of Naples, against the Rebels there, 189. See Ferdinand.

AUSTRIA, house of; an end put to the misunderstandings between the branch of Spain and that of Germany, on the Spaniards declaring for the Arch-duke Ferdinand against the Venetians, 39.

B.

BARBARY, pirates of, attack a fleet of the Duke of Ossuna's, Viceroy of Naples, commanded by Elliot, an Englishman, 148. Both dispersed, and separated, by a furious storm, 148, 149.

BEDMAN, Don Alphonso de la Cueva, marquis of, the Spanish ambassador at Venice, 27. His character and abilities, 17,—20. Projects the destruction of Venice, 21, 22, *etc.* Signifies his intention, in an obscure manner, to the Duke of Uffeda, principal Secretary of State, 24. Prys into all the secrets and

I N D E X.

resolutions of the Senate of Venice, 33. Reveals his design to the marquis de Lare, then at Venice for Don Pedro governor of Milan, 35. Writes against the Venetian government with great keenness, and not suspected, 42, 43. Which gave occasion to father Paul to publish his history of the Council of Trent, 45. Negotiates with Mons. Renault to debauch the Dutch army in the service of the Republic, 48, *etc.* Communicates his design against the Republic to the Duke of Ossuna Viceroy of Naples, 61. Projects with the Duke of Ossuna the seizing of Maran, a town and fort of the Venetians in the Gulph, for a retreat to the Spanish fleet, 77, *etc.* Reveals his whole plan only to Renault and Captain Jacques Pierre, whom he introduces together, 80,—86. The whole plan of the conspiracy then consulted on, and determined, 86,—95. Opens his project to the Council of Spain, and desires their concurrence, and aprobaton, 97. 98. His sly manifesto against the republic drawn up for the satisfaction of the Spanish Council, 99,—105. Left by the Council at full liberty to act as he pleased, 105, 106. By his address he persuades the Venetians to agree to a suspension of arms with the Spaniards, which saves the city of Gradisca from falling into the hands of the Venetians, who were besieging it, 109. Lays the whole blame, in the Senate, of the treaty not being observed on the duke of Ossuna, to screen himself, 111, *etc.* Takes great pains to keep the Dutch troops from leaving the Venetian territories, 120,—124. Furnishes the Conspirators with powder, instruments, and other materials, 128. Takes care to provide a great many arms, 133. The order of the execution, as settled by him, in concert with Renault and Captain Pierre, 138,—147. The scheme defeated, by the dispensation of the fleet from Naples, in a furious storm, that was coming to their assistance 150, *etc.* The execution put off till the feast of the Ascension, 152. The difficulties and obstacles that intervened, 152,—158.

ALL su
His p
Crem
geant
ran, 1
by Ja
cumst
confe
211,
the p
as fir
dinal
BERAR
Crem
tray t
BETHU
has a
about
Spani
117
the tr
BOLEA
BOLEA
them
BRAIN
Rena
cil of
225,
BRAVO
at Ve
BREDE
in Ve
ther l
ed ag
BRES
to the
BRIBE
intim
dor's
hung

I N D E X.

All surmounted by the address of the marquis, 159. His plan disconcerted by the discovery of the plot on Crema, 160. And more so by the seizure of the Sergeant Major, who was to deliver up the town of Maran, 161. His whole schemes and projects discovered, by Jaffier's revealing the conspiracy, with all its circumstances, to the Venetian Council, 205, *etc.* The consequences of that discovery to the marquis, 211, *etc.* In great danger of being torn in pieces by the populace, 220. Recalled from Venice, 229. Sent, as first minister, to Flanders, 237. Receives a Cardinal's hat from Rome, *ibid.*

BERARD, John, a French lieutenant in the town of Crema, one of the three Officers who engaged to betray that place to the Spaniards, 75, 76.

BETHUNE, Count of, minister of the Duke of Savoy, has a conference with Don Pedro governor of Milan about the peace concluded at Paris, between the Spaniards and Venetians, and other States of Italy, 117. Protests against the Governor for infringing the treaty by refusing to disarm his troops, 112, 113.

BOLEAU, Charles, 125.

BOLEAU, John, brother of the former, and both of them confidants of the chiefs of the conspirators, 125.

BRAINVILLE, de, a French gentleman, an one of Renault's confidants, 91, 127. Seized by the council of Venice, 211, 212. Strangled and drowned, 225, 226.

BRAVO, Don Lewis, succeeds the Marquis of Bedmar at Venice, 229.

BREDERODE, Renault de, interred in holy ground in Venice, though a Calvinist, by the interest of Father Paul, for which the republic is severely exclaimed against by the Marquis of Bedmar, 101.

BRESCIA, town of, in danger of being delivered up to the Spaniards, 89, 166.

BRIBE, de, a French gentleman, and one of Renault's intimates, 91, 127. Seized in the French ambassador's house at Venice, 210. Put to the rack, and hung up, 225.

I N D E X.

- BRULAND, Laurence, one of the conspirators, and a Comrade of Renault's, 118, 171. Seized, 210. Suffers the rack with great constancy, 225. Hung up publicly as a traitor, *ibid.*
- BRULAND, Robert, brother of the former, and one of the conspirators, 122, 125, 171. Makes his escape after the conspiracy is discovered, 209.

C.

- COMIO, Barthelemi, Secretary to the Council of Ten, discovers and arrests some of the Conspirators in the Arsenal, 205, 206, 209.
- CONTARINI, the Republic of Venice's ambassador at Rome, 67. Remonstrates against the republic for taking Captain Pierre into their service, *ibid.*
- CONUCIL of Ten, (Venetian) assemble, and receive Jaffier's confession and discovery, 206. Promise him his demand, *ibid.* Send in search of the conspirators, a great many of whom they seize, 207,—212. Violate their promise to Jaffier, 226, 227.
- COURTEZAN, the Venetian One, from Greece; her history, 129, 130. A friend and favourite of the conspirators, 131.
- CREMA, a town belonging to the Venetians, in danger of being seized by the Spaniards, 39, 75, 90. The plot discovered, 160.

D.

- DONATO, Doge of Venice, his death, 133.
- DURAND, Sergeant-Major of the Dutch regiment of Lievestein, 91. Engages with the Spanish conspirators against the Republic, *ibid.*
- DUTCH-TROOPS, Eight thousand of them engage in the service of the Republic under the command of count Nassau and Lievestein, 47. Behave ill before the City of Gradisca, 88. Begin to mutiny, *ibid.* Most of the officers and private men corrupted by the Spaniards, 92, 93. See Lievestein.

ELL
fix
nice
ibid.
able
dire
war

FER
Em
a c
aga
wis
to
the
her
tha
Na
FRIO
Au

GAM
to
to
GRE
and
Co
GRE
on
GRA
Du
ne
GRI
Or
be

I N D E X.

E.

ELLIOT, sails from Naples at the head of a fleet of six thousand men, to assist the conspirators at Venice, 147. Attacked by a fleet of Barbary pirates, *ibid.* Both dispersed by a furious storm, 148. Unable to proceed any farther at that time, 149. Gets directions from the Conspirators how to act afterwards, 169, 193, 201.

F.

FERDINAND de Gratz, Arch-duke, and afterwards Emperor, his character, 14. Supports the Uscoques, a company of pirates, so called, on the Adriatic sea, against the Venetians, *ibid.* Always worsted by their wise conduct, 15. Pressed by the Emperor Matthias to conclude a peace with them, *ibid.* Supported by the Court of Spain, 15, 16. Elected King of Bohemia, 189. Sues for succour against the Rebels of that country to the Duke of Ossuna Viceroy of Naples, *ibid.*

FRIOULI, the seat of the war, between the house of Austria and the Venetians, 24.

G.

GAMBALOTTA, Colonel, ordered by Don Philip to advance with some troops near the town of Crema, to awe the Venetians, 39.

GRECIAN Courtezan, at Venice; her house the haunt and rendezvous of the conspirators, 172, 209. See Courtezan.

GRECIAN Sages, a saying of one of them to a criminal on the rack, 11.

GRADISCA, the capital of the estates of the Arch-Duke Ferdinand in Italy, 38. Besieged by the Venetians, *ibid.* 106.

GRITTI, the Venetian ambassador at Madrid, 46. Ordered by his masters to renew the negotiations between the Spaniards and them, *ibid.*

I N D E X.

H.

HENRY IV. of France, a friend of the Venetians, 13. during his life-time, the Spaniards, being over-awed, durst not concern themselves with the affairs of Venice, *ibid.*

L

JAFFIER, Antony, one of the Conspirators, and one of Captain Pierre's confidants, 122, 172. Staggers at Renault's speech to a select set of the Conspirators, 183, 184, *etc.* Yet gives Captain Pierre all the assurances of trust and resolution, that one man could give to another, 196. Wavers again after his departure from the Captain, 197. His inward distress and anxiety, 197,—200. At length reveals the whole to the secretary of the Council of Ten, with a solemn promise from the Council to preserve the lives of twenty of his companions whom he should name, 205. The promise granted, 206. But afterwards violated, 226, 227. On which he leaves Venice in the utmost fury, and goes to Brescia, 128. Taken prisoner, and brought back to Venice, where he was drowned the next day after his arrival. 229.

INOJOSA, marquis of, the Spanish Governor of Milan, unites to the Duke of Savoy, 34. Recalled at the desire of the Marquis of Bedmar, *ibid.*

ITALIAN Captain, one of the three officers that engage to betray the town of Crema to the Spaniards, 75, 76. Is killed in a duel, and confesses all to the Venetian Commander, 160, 161.

L.

LARE, Marquis of, sent by Don Pedro governor of Milan, to Venice, to intimate his arrival at Milan, 35. Brings the governor intirely into the Marquis's scheme, 35, 36. Sent to Venice a second time to commune with the Marquis, and to assure him of the governor's assistance, 36. Obligated by the Mar-

I N D E X.

- quis to propose very unreasonable terms of peace to the Senate, 37. Which were all rejected, *ibid.*
- LERMA, duke of, favourite of Philip III. of Spain, of an easy and peaceable disposition, 16.
- LIEVESTEIN, Count, brings eight thousand Hollanders and Walloons into Italy for the service of the Venetians, in concert with Count Nassau, 47. His troops debauched by means of the Marquis of Bedmar, and Renault, 48, 49, 92. Mutiny, 120. See Dutch Troops.

M.

- MANTUA, Duke of, in the Spanish interest, 113, 155, 157.
- MARAN, a city belonging to the Venetians, in the Gulph, in danger of being betrayed to the Spaniards, 77. The plot discovered, 162.
- MATTHIAS, Emperor, makes up the differences between the Republic of Venice, and the Arch-Duke Ferdinand, 14.
- MAZZA, Sergeant-major of Maran, engages to betray that city to the Spaniards, 77, 78. The plot discovered, and he put to the torture, 162.

N.

- NASSAU, Count, brings eight thousand Hollanders into Italy for the assistance of the Venetians, 74. The troops behave ill after his death, 88.
- NOLOT, Laurence, one of the conspirators, and a Comrade of Captain Pierre, 97. Sent by the Marquis of Bedmar to the Duke of Ossuna to hasten his forces to Venice, *ibid.* Where he was kept for some time, 113, 114, 121. At last arrives with the Duke's resolution, which was agreeable to the Marquis, and the rest of the conspirators, 122. Sent a second time to Naples to forward the Duke's fleet, 135. Which he accomplishes, 147. In the search for the conspirators by order of the Senate, is so happy as to make his escape, 109.

I N D E X.

O.

OSSUNA, Duke of, Viceroy of Naples, 54. His character, 54, 55, 56. Engages the famous Captain Jacques Pierre in his service, 59. Opens his design against Venice to the Captain, 61. Their political and mock quarrel, 61,—65. Makes large depredations on the Venetians, 69, 70, *etc.* Engages to man a fleet for the service of the Conspirators, 122, *etc.* The fleet attacked by the pirates of Barbary, and dispersed in a storm, 148. Fits out another small fleet, which arrives within a few miles of Venice, 168. Images made of him by the populace of Venice, to which they did all manner of indignities, 221.

P.

PAUL V. Pope, the differences between him and the Venetians terminated by the mediation of France, 11.

PAUL, Father, 44. What gave occasion to his publishing his history of the Council of Trent, 45.

PEDRO, Don, de Toledo, Marquis of Villa Franca, made governor of Milan in room of the Marquis of Inojosa, 35. An intimate friend of the Marquis of Bedmar, *ibid.* Sends the Marquis of Lare to Venice to acquaint the Senate of his arrival at his government, 35. Goes intirely in to the Marquis of Bedmar's views, and promises him fifteen thousand men upon occasion, 36. Makes very unreasonable proposals of peace to the Venetians, 37. Which are rejected by them with indignation, *ibid.* Not great in the cabinet, 54. Acts in concert with the Viceroy of Naples and the marquis of Bedmar, against the Republic of Venice, 154. Delays all in his power to execute the treaty of peace, 154, 155. Concerts with some of the Conspirators to seize Crema and Brescia, two towns belonging to the Venetians, 39, 75, 89, 166. Disappointed of all his schemes, is obliged at last to disband his troops and restore Vercelli, 231.

PHILIP III. of Spain, of an easy and peaceable temper, 16.

PIER

as

Sav

the

lea

for

dib

of

the

of

gai

tha

Go

lic

de

68

co

cer

an

tai

pe

by

to

co

di

w

ac

ac

PIR

co

on

PR

ce

ce

REN

48

A

59

of

I N D E X.

PIERRE Jacques, Captain, his character and eminence as a sea officer, 56, 57. *etc.* Settles in the Duke of Savoy's dominions, 57. Engages in the service of the Viceroy of Naples by great encouragement, and leaves the Duke of Savoy's territories, 59. Takes some Turkish caravans, from which he gets an incredible bounty, 60. Having got the command of some of the Viceroy's vessels, he plundered all the coasts of the Levant, and took and sunk a numerous squadron of Turkish gallies, 61. Engaged by the Viceroy against the Venetians, 62. His political conduct on that occasion to deceive the Venetians, 62, — 67. Gets the command of some vessels from the republic, against the Uscoques, on whom he made considerable prizes, 67. Corresponds with the Viceroy, 68. Introduced by the Marquis of Bedmar to the company of Renault, 80, 81. The whole plot concerted between these three, 86, *etc.* The manner and order of its execution, 139, — 147. The Captain's resolution and firmness on the news of the dispersion of the fleet from Naples, 150, *etc.* Obligated by his post to go aboard the Venetian fleet sent out to watch that of the Viceroy of Naples, 192. His converse and advice to Jaffier, 196. Upon Jaffier's discovering the conspiracy, emissaries from the Senate were sent to the fleet, to dispatch him, which was accordingly done, 223.

PIRATES, of the Mediterranean and Adriatic seas, encouraged by the Duke of Ossuna to make depredations on the Venetians, 69. See *Uscoques*.

PRIULI, Anthony, chosen Doge of Venice 133. The ceremonies attending it, 133, 134.

R.

RENAULT, Nicholas, a French Gentleman at Venice, 48. His character and abilities, 49, 50, — 82, 83. A principal confident of the Spanish Ambassador, 50, 80. Is employed by him to debauch the Dutch officers and soldiers in the service of Venice, 50, 51.

I N D E X.

which he accomplishes, 74, 88, 89, 94, 95. The life and soul of the conspiracy under the marquis of Bedmar, 80, 81, *etc.* His harangue to the conspirators, at their last consultation, 173. Suspects Jaffier, 183, *etc.* Proposes to poniard him, but is dissuaded from it by Captain Pierre, 186. Upon discovery of the plot, he is seized in the French ambassadors house, 210. His resolution and courage at his examination, 224, 225. After undergoing the rack and torture is at last strangled, 225.

RETROSI, William, one of the conspirators, 91, 126. Makes his escape, on discovery of the plot, 209.

REVELLIDO, Robert, an Italian engineer, another of the conspirators, 91, 172. Escapes on the discovery, 209.

RIZARDO, John, an Italian Petardeer, and one of the conspirators, 125.

ROBERT, Vincent, of Marseilles, a comrade of Captain Pierre, and one of the conspirators, 58, 125, 172. Persuades that officer, at the desire of the Viceroy of Naples, to leave the dominions of the Duke of Savoy, and to settle in Sicily, 58. Which he accomplishes, 59. On discovery of the conspiracy makes his escape, 209.

10 AP 30

SANCHO, Don, de Luna, 40.

SAVOY, Charles Emanuel, duke of; favours the Venetians against the Court of Spain, 16. A Prince of extraordinary talents, 57. Generous to a degree, 63. Deceived by Captain Pierre, 64, 65, *etc.*

SPAIN, ambassadors of, generally commanded the courts to which they were sent, 10.

SPANISH Army, take the town of Vercelli from the Venetians, 106.

SPAIN, Court of, bent on the ruin of Venice, 13, *etc.* Greatly embarrassed by the wise councils of that republic, 16. Assist the Arch-Duke Ferdinand against

The fol
are fo
Office

1. The I
celebr
2. Bayle
3. Verton
cation
of gov
4. —H
5. Voltai
6. —A
additi
7. —H
8. Hawt
Reign
9. Pisco
conta
the li
10. Sir
11. Bish
12. Gen
13. Th
from
14. Th
15. Ta
Ro
stir
Go
16. Th
to
17. Th
the
nid

The following BOOKS of HISTORY, *etc.*
are sold by ROBERT URIE at his Printing
Office in the foot of the Salt-market.

1. The History of Florence. From the Italian of the celebrated Machiavel. 2 vol. price 5 s.
2. Bayle's Life of Gustavus Adolphus. 2 s. 6 d.
3. Vertot's History of the Revolutions of Sweden, occasioned by the change of Religion and alteration of government in that kingdom. 3 s.
4. —History of the Revolution of Portugal. 2 s.
5. Voltaire's History of Charles XII. of Sweden. 2 s. 6 d.
6. —Age of Lewis XIV. A new Edition with great additions and improvements. 2 vol. 7 s.
7. —History of the Czar Peter the Great. 3 s.
8. Hawthornden's History of Scotland, containing the Reigns of the five James's. 3 s.
9. Piscottie's History of Scotland, from 1436, to 1565, containing the lives of James II, III, IV, V, and the life of Queen Mary. 3 s.
10. Sir James Melvil's Memoirs. 3 s.
11. Bishop Guthrie's Memoirs. 2 s. 6 d.
12. General Morgan's Memoirs. (*curious*) 6 d. stitched.
13. The General History of Polybius. Translated from the Greek by Mr. Hampton. 2 vol. 6 s.
14. The Works of Sallust. 2 s. 6 d.
15. Tacitus's Life of the celebrated Agricola, the first Roman General that conquered Scotland. 1 s. stitched.—The above two translated by Thomas Gordon Esq; Author of the *Independent Whig*, *etc.*
16. The History of the Voyages of Columbus, in order to discover the West Indies and America. 2 s.
17. The History of Commodore Anson's Voyage round the World, at the commencement of the late Spanish War in 1739. 2 s.

Books sold by R. URIE.

18. The History of the Discoveries and Conquests of the English in North America and the West-Indies; containing an accurate account of all our Settlements, their soil, produce, and commerce. 2 s. 6 d.
19. A concise History of Philosophy and Philosophers; giving an account of all the different Sects of Antiquity, especially of ancient Greece. By Mr. Formey, Professor of Philosophy etc. at Berlin. 3 s.
20. The History of the Man after God's own Heart. 2 s.
21. The life of Prince Albert of Brunswick, brother to the Hereditary Prince. 6 d. stitched.
22. Lord Molesworth's Account of Denmark, with the Causes of the famous Revolution in that Kingdom, from an elective to an absolute Monarchy. 2 s.
23. An Account of Turkey, with a detail of the Manners, Polity, and Riches of the Turkish empire. From the Latin of the learned Busbequius, Ambassador from the Emperor Ferdinand to Solymán the Great. 3 s.
24. An Account of the European Settlements in America. In six parts.—1. A short History of the Discovery of that part of the world.—2. The Manners and customs of the original Inhabitants.—3. Of the Spanish Settlements.—4. Of the Portuguese.—5. Of the French, Dutch, and Danish.—6. Of the English, etc. 2 vol. 6 s.
25. Voltaire's critical Essays on dramatic Poetry, 2 s.
26. —Letters on the English Nation. 2 s.
27. —The Philosophy of History, a new Edition, 3 s.
28. Fletcher of Salton's political works, 3 s.
29. Lord Halifax's Miscellanies, 3 s.
30. Sir William Temple's Miscellanies. 2 s. 6 d.
31. Moyle on the Roman and Lacedemonian government, etc. 2 s. 6 d.
32. Huygens's Cosmotheoros; or, Conjectures concerning the Planets and their Inhabitants, 2 s.

s of
est-
our
rce.

ers;
of
Mr.
lin.

art.

er to

the
om,

Man-
pire.
Am-
man

me-
Dis-
Man-
—3.
nefe.
Of

a s.

, 35.

ern-

etern-